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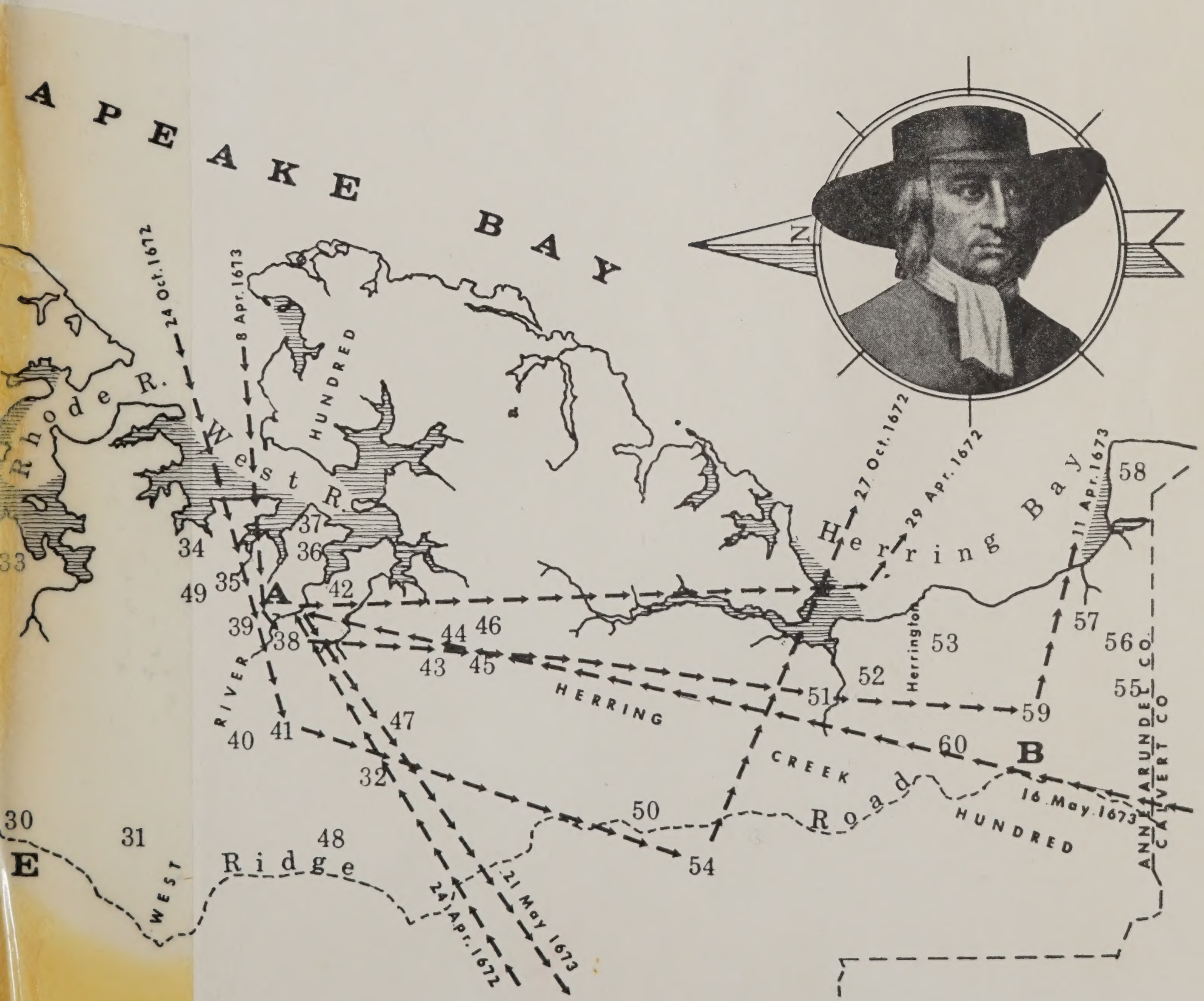
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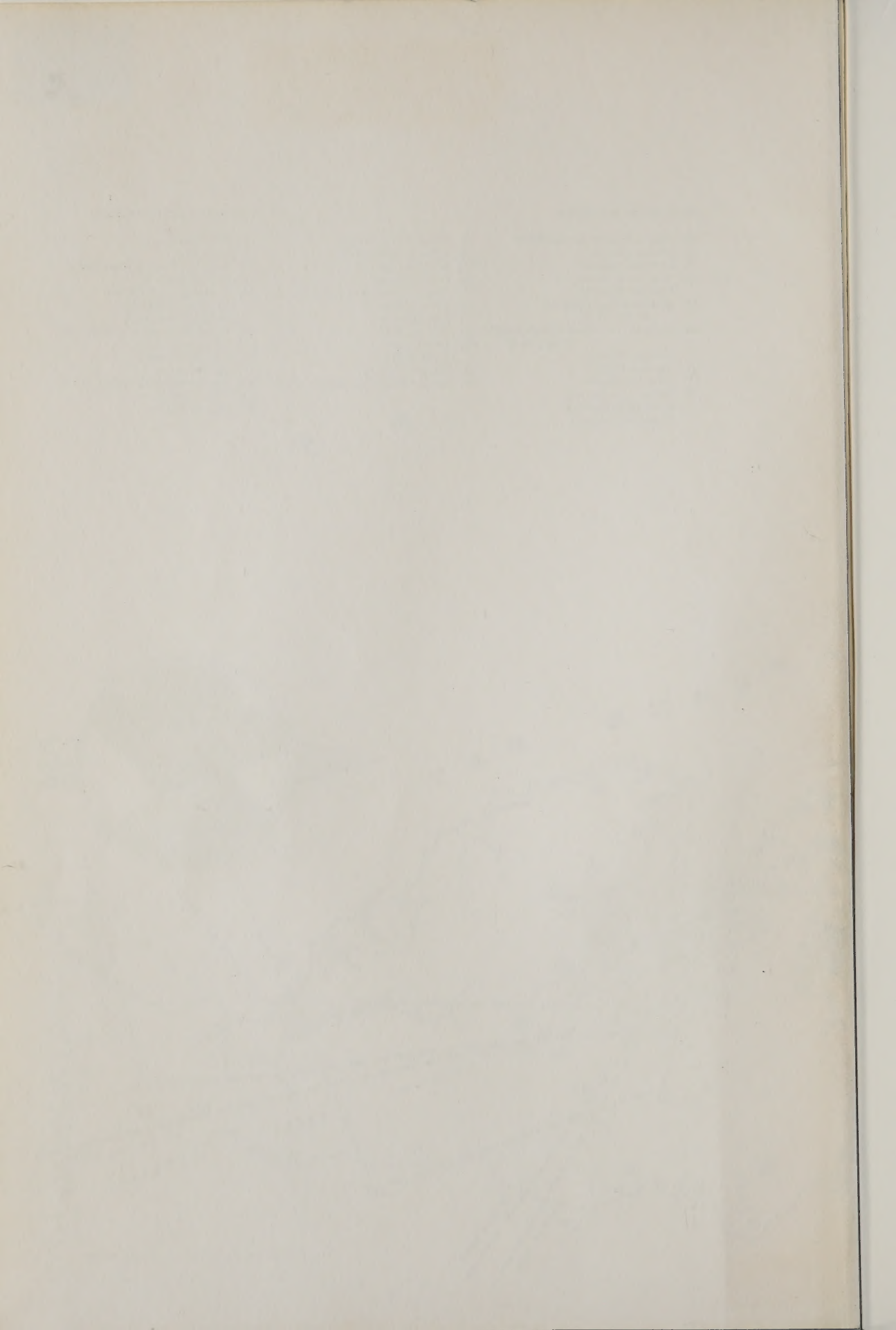
- 30. John Larkin of Larkin Hills
- 31. Thomas Miles
- 32. Gerrard Hopkins
- 33. Thomas Sparrow
Solomon Sparrow
- 34. Benjamin Lawrence of
Cedar Park
- 35. Richard Talbott of Poplar Knowle
(Tulip Hill)
Edward Talbott
- 36. Thomas Hooker, I
- 37. Thomas Hooker, II
- 38. Richard Galloway I
Richard Galloway II
Samuel Galloway I

- 39. Richard Galloway II
- 40. William Richardson
- 41. William Coale, I
- 42. Jacob Duhattee
- 43. Richard Arnold of Sudley
- 44. James White
- 45. John Waters
- 46. William Ford
- 47. John Giles
Jacob Giles
- 48. Samuel Thomas
- 49. George Skipwirth (before 1682)

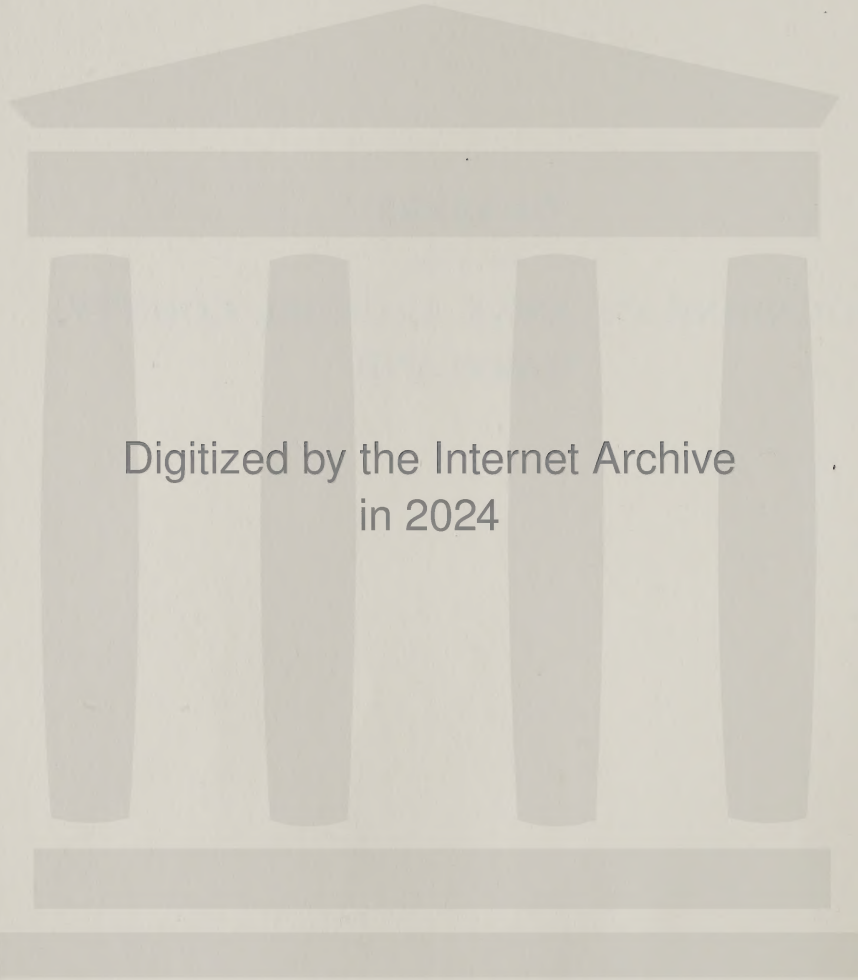
HERRING CREEK HUNDRED

- 50. John Burrage
- 51. John Hall
- 52. Samuel Chew I & Anne Chew
- 53. Samuel Chew II
- 54. Christopher Birkhead
Abraham Birkhead
Nehemiah Birkhead
- 55. Richard Harrison of Holly Hill
Samuel Harrison
- 56. Francis Holland
- 57. Robert Gover
- 58. George Skipwith (after 1682)
- 59. School House
- 60. Nathan Smith





QUAKERS
IN THE
FOUNDING OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY,
MARYLAND



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QUAKERS^c
IN
THE FOUNDING OF
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY,
MARYLAND

BY
J. REANEY KELLY



BALTIMORE
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1963

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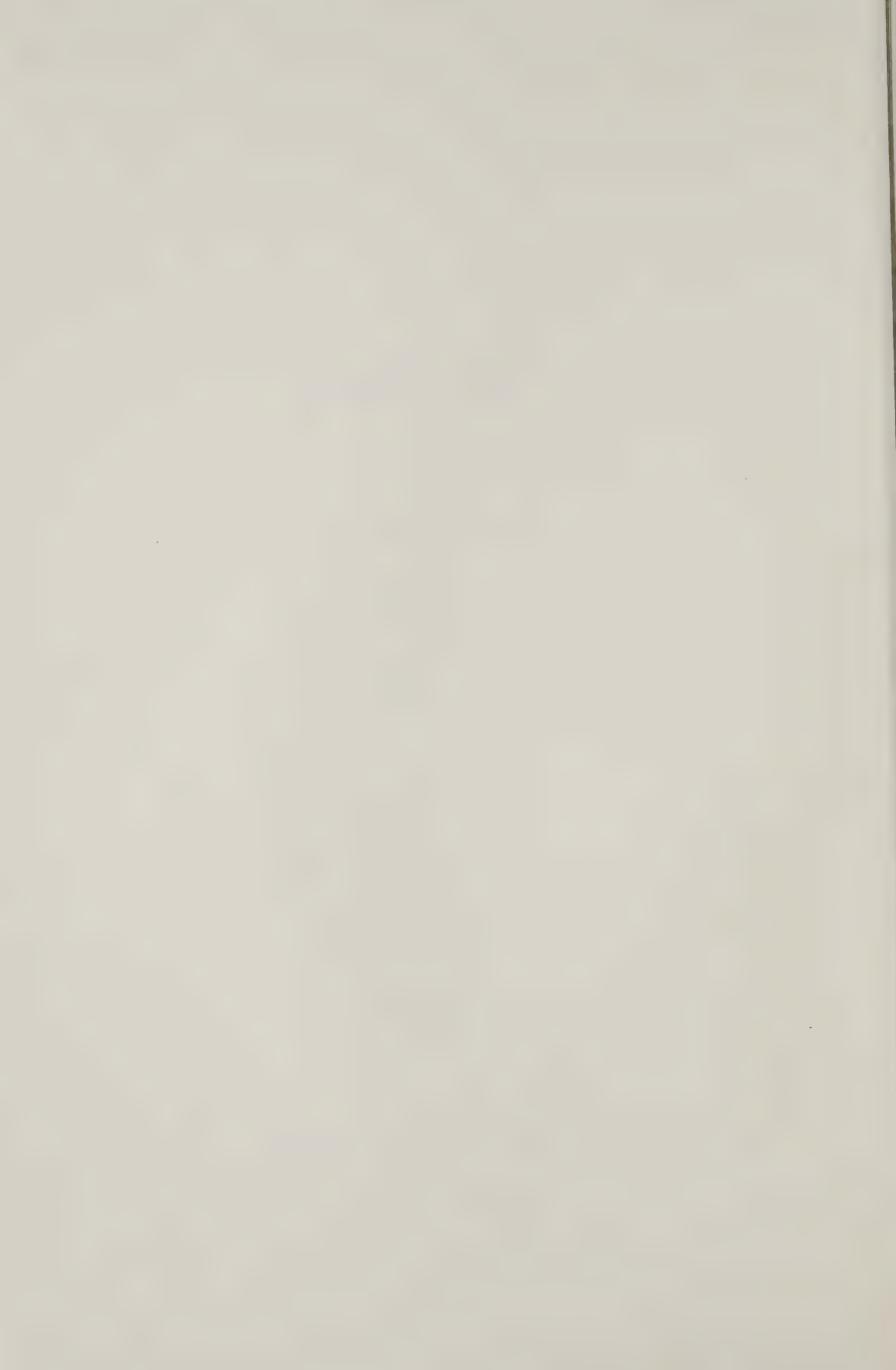
FOR THE DIRECTOR
OF THE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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To
FRANCES

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FOREWORD

The years following the creation of Anne Arundel County in 1650 from an area called Providence were among the most crucial in the colonial history of Maryland. Yet, the real reasons underlying the seizure of the government in 1654 by a so-called Puritan regime and the role of the Friends in that government have never been clearly explained. Nor has the influence of Quakerism in the formative years of Anne Arundel County been fully understood. These studies are an attempt to explore those areas, and because some of the facts assembled and the conclusions reached are new their premise was first presented in an address to the Annual Meeting of the Friends Historical Association at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in November, 1960.

It has long been recognized that Maryland was the first of the permanent English settlements to permit freedom of worship by Roman Catholics. It was the first of the colonies to guarantee freedom of conscience in religion with civil rights. It nurtured the first roots of Presbyterianism in 1683, and it was the scene of the organization of Methodism at Lovely Lane, Baltimore, in 1784. The evidence presented in these studies now makes it possible to credit Maryland with the beginning of the Society of Friends on the mainland of America.

These papers present careful studies of Seventeenth Century documents relating to the beginning of Quakerism in the New World, against the background of source materials concerning Maryland and Anne Arundel County. It is believed that the conclusions will contribute to a clearer understanding of the development of the Province, of the founding years of the county, and of the history of the Society of Friends. The studies also make possible for the first time the documentation of the location and history of the three Quaker Meetings in Anne Arundel County—West River, Herring Creek and Indian Springs.

Portions of a letter to Elizabeth Harris, Maryland's first Quaker, received after her return to England from Robert Clarkson of the Severn and dated the 11th month of 1657, previously have been quoted and discussed by historians. However, an evaluation of the entire letter sheds a new light upon the initial planting of Quakerism on the mainland of America, and particularly to its influence in the founding years of Anne Arundel County. A pamphlet printed in 1682 by Andrew Sowle of London, and containing Testimonies of a number

of Maryland's first Friends, is also a novel contribution towards that end. Finally, a previously unpublished letter from William Richardson of West River, dated 1681, to George Fox in England, gives a contemporary picture of the relationship between Maryland Friends and Charles, Third Lord Baltimore and proprietor of the Province.

Throughout these studies the words "convince," "convinced," and "convincement" are used with Quaker connotation. The movement was a religious way of life, and one was "convinced" in its "Truth" rather than converted to a theology.

The author expresses his thanks and appreciation for helpful comment, criticism and assistance to the following: Harold R. Manakee, Director, Maryland Historical Society; Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist, Guy Weatherly, Senior Archivist, and Frank F. White, Junior Archivist, Hall of Records, Annapolis; Miss Elizabeth Merritt, editor of the Archives of Maryland; Malcolm Waring, Land Office, Annapolis; Professor Henry C. Edgar, Cape May, New Jersey; Gladys M. Lassiter of the Friendship Methodist Church; Mrs. Marvin Shipley of Millersville; Dr. Grace L. Tracey of Hampstead; Mrs. A. Waldo Jones of Vinings, Georgia; Bryden Bordley Hyde for the end paper map; Dorothy Engle, Mrs. George Thomas and Mrs. Frederick Kittel for patient secretarial and editorial help; Francis Engle for his fine photographs; Marina S. Hiatt of Cumberland for preparing the Galloway Chart; and Mary Sullivan Patterson of Swarthmore, a Friend whose co-operation and advice have been invaluable.

Also, acknowledgment is made of the co-operation of Mr. and Mrs. Eveleth Bridgman, and Mr. and Mrs. E. Churchill Murray, of "Cedar Park"; Captain and Mrs. Hugh P. LeClair of "Holly Hill"; Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Andrews of "Tulip Hill"; Mr. and Mrs. Fendall Clagett of "Larkins Hills"; Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Duckett of "Whites Hall"; and Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kelly of "Sudley," all owners of surviving Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Quaker houses in Anne Arundel County.

It should be noted that all wills and Anne Arundel County land records referred to are in the Hall of Records and all certificates, patents and rent rolls in the Land Office, both at Annapolis.

J. R. K.

Annapolis, Maryland
August 1, 1963

THE FOUNDING OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

The Province of Maryland, where freedom of conscience in religion was practiced from the founding¹ and guaranteed by law in 1649,² was the scene of the first substantial convincements in Quakerism on the mainland of the New World. Made without opposition by Church or State, they represent a unique and refreshing interlude in the otherwise turbulent history of the planting of that religious way of life throughout the world. Those convincements occurred in Anne Arundel County beginning in 1656,³ only four years after the creative moment of the new movement⁴ and at a time when most of Maryland was ruled by a Puritan government directed from Virginia.⁵ In 1654 that government had repealed Lord Baltimore's famous Act Concerning Religion, commonly known as the Toleration Act, had disfranchised Roman Catholics, had acted against prelacy, and had directed that an end be put to the use of the Book of Common Prayer.⁶ Although all of the older forms of religion were suspect, the evangelistic fervor of Quakerism had a wide appeal, and the new doctrine of the Inward Light soon was planted deeply in the hearts of many Marylanders. So, while Lord Baltimore's dream of religious liberty during the period 1654 to 1658 was temporarily thwarted, Maryland remained the traditional land of sanctuary.

Some of the first commissioners of Anne Arundel County, who had been appointed by Governor William Stone for Lord Baltimore in 1650, were among those initially convinced. Others were prominent officials in resident control of the Puritan government. Still others had arrived with the county's first settlers and were to become the progenitors of prominent Maryland families. Thus, the story of the planting of Quakerism in Maryland is, in effect, that of the founding years of Anne Arundel County.

The new movement spread to both shores of the Chesapeake Bay and developed rapidly during the rest of the Seventeenth Century. By 1672, when, at West River, the first General Meeting of all Friends in the Province was held, Quakerism had become a fully organized and co-ordinated religious movement freely practiced in the majority of the existing Maryland counties.⁷ Only a few family names of the founders of Anne Arundel County do not appear in the records of the public and private Quaker Meetings which began in 1656.⁸

In 1655 George Fox, the first Friend, recorded in England that "about this time several Friends went beyond the seas to declare the everlasting Truth of God."⁹ One of them, Elizabeth Harris, a dedicated Publisher of Truth, came to America. She arrived in Anne Arundel County, then called Providence, in 1656, or possibly as early as the fall of 1655,¹⁰ and remained for about a year. In 1657 persecuted Quaker stalwarts in England were pleased and encouraged by the news that Elizabeth Harris had reached many people and that "the Governor is convinced."¹¹

For about two hundred years many historians have believed that the initial convincements by Elizabeth Harris occurred in Virginia,¹² but conclusive proof exists that she labored most successfully in Maryland. Likewise, most writers have concluded that Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who landed in Massachusetts in August, 1656, were the first Quaker messengers to sow the seeds of the movement in the New World. Yet, while those valiant and dedicated women were languishing in the jails of New England awaiting deportation—having been imprisoned from the time they were interviewed on shipboard and held incommunicado¹³—Elizabeth Harris was laboring in Anne Arundel County, then Providence,¹⁴ holding Meetings, making convincements, and otherwise laying the foundation for the spread of Quakerism throughout Maryland.

In Anne Arundel County today Friends are few, but much remains to remind one of the early success of Quakerism in that area. The West River, Herring Creek, and, later, the Indian Springs Meetings were strongholds of Friends on the Western Shore. Still in evidence, too, is the Old Quaker Burying Ground,¹⁵ near Galesville, West River, site of the birth of organized Quakerism in Maryland. It was here, in 1672, that George Fox opened the first General Meeting for all Friends in the Province¹⁶—the first General Meeting that he attended on the mainland of America. It also marked the beginning of the present Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, and that Meeting, as successor to the West River Yearly Meeting, is now the third oldest Yearly Meeting of Friends in the world.¹⁷ On this site the West River Quakers built a frame Meeting House that remained in use for many years.

Still in Anne Arundel County, also, are the surviving Seventeenth Century houses: "Cedar Park," "Larkins Hills," "Holly Hill" and "Sudley," all built and lived in by Quaker founders. Still others are: "Whites Hall," birthplace of Johns Hopkins, II; and "Tulip Hill," at West River, built in 1756 by Samuel Galloway, a descendant of one of the county's first Friends. In 1754 the builder declared himself to be "one of the people called Quakers."¹⁸

The year 1649 saw many critical steps in the development of Quakerism in both England and Maryland. In England, Charles I was beheaded. Puritanism, on the rise for many years, was in complete control,¹⁹ and throughout the northern counties George Fox and his increasing numbers of Friends of Truth were approaching the creative moment of Quakerism. In Maryland the General Assembly passed the now famous Act Concerning Religion²⁰ in which, for the first time in the world, freedom of conscience in religion with full civil rights was guaranteed. Also in 1649, Cecil, Second Lord Baltimore, through his resident governor, William Stone, offered sanctuary to all Virginia settlers who were being forced to leave that Crown Colony because they would not obey its stringent laws compelling conformity to the Established Church of England. They sought freedom, both civil and religious, in Maryland.

Many of those who came to the Province chose the Western Shore of the Chesapeake for their new home. From Herring Creek on the south to the Magothy River on the north, they spread along the bay shore and the banks of the West, Road, South and Severn Rivers. They called the area Providence, but in 1650 the General Assembly changed the name to Anne Arundel County.²¹ It was the third county in precedence in the Province and was named for the former Lady Anne Arundell, wife of Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, the founding proprietor of the Province.²² The new county was divided into hundreds extending from Chesapeake Bay to the Patuxent River. At the far south was Herring Creek Hundred. Then came the West River and the South River Hundreds, respectively. Middle Neck Hundred lay between South River and the Severn River, while the Broad Neck Hundred extended from the Severn River northward. This river was named by the early settlers of the area, but Lord Baltimore's government favored the name "Anne Arundell," and for many years it was referred to as the "Anne Arundell River, alias the Severn."

In July, 1650, Governor William Stone visited the county and appointed Edward Lloyd as commander, and James Homewood, Thomas Marsh, George Puddington, Matthew Hawkins, James Merryman and Henry Catlyn as commissioners.²³ Commander Lloyd was empowered to issue warrants for land to which new settlers were entitled and which later could be converted into patents from Lord Baltimore. However, this right was withdrawn December 18, 1652. Ready for representation in the General Assembly, the people of the county sent James Cox and George Puddington to St. Mary's as delegates on April 6, 1650. The former was named speaker.²⁴ To complete a picture of harmony and co-operation, on April 17, 1650, the Gov-

ernor, his Council, eight burgesses including Cox and Puddington, and a number of "Protestant inhabitants," together with William Durand, an elder and leader of the Puritan settlers, declared in a proclamation:

That according to an Act of Assembly [the Toleration Act] that purpose made and provided we doe heare enjoy all fitting and convenient freedome and liberty in exercise of our religion under his Lordship's government and interest; and that none of us are any ways troubled or molested for or by reason thereof within his Lordship's sayed province.²⁵

In the Mother Country events also moved swiftly. Parliament and its Council of State ruled. Oliver Cromwell was rising to the power he was to assume in 1653 as Lord Protector. Roman Catholics were under persecution and the Church of England was facing reformation.²⁶ Yet George Fox and his Friends of Truth, themselves under violent persecution, continued to spread their message throughout the land, and the once small band was developing into a force with which to be reckoned. Gervase Bennett, an English magistrate, gave the designation of "Quaker" to Fox and his followers in scorn because "George Fox bade him and those about him to tremble at the word of the Lord."²⁷ It was to become a term of honor.

The basis for the religious way of life of George Fox was simple, but not entirely new.²⁸ In his *Journal* he recorded: "When all my hopes in . . . men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do then, O then, I heard a voice which said, 'There is One, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition' and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy." Also, he wrote, "Mark and consider in silence and in lowliness of mind and thou wilt hear the Lord speak unto thee in thy mind."²⁹

This philosophy became known as the doctrine of the Inward Light. Refusal of its adherents to swear upon oath—considering that action blasphemy because it was contrary to the teachings of the Bible—refusal to show deference by removing their hats in the presence of officials, and opposition to military service were among its practices. At first Quakers seemed more opposed to the existing organized forms of religion than favoring the formation of a new and separate movement. Soon, however, they clearly saw their way.

The generally accepted creative moment of Quakerism dates from a May morning in 1652 when George Fox, after years of forceful searching, stood on Pendle Hill in the Yorkshire moors and saw his future course outlined sharply. "And there atop the hill I was moved to sound the day of the Lord and the Lord let me see in what places He had a great people to be gathered," he wrote.³⁰ Only three years

later, in 1655, Publishers of Truth went forth to plant the Quaker way of life in the New World.³¹

To say that the settlers from Virginia who were granted sanctuary beginning in 1649 rebelled against the authority of Lord Baltimore in 1652, and again in 1654, is not literally true. Had they been left to themselves without outside pressures and encouragement, and had communication been more swift and reliable, co-operation with the just and tolerant government of the proprietor might have continued unbroken. However, a writ issued by the English Council of State on September 26, 1651, entitled "Instructions for Captain Robert Denis, Mr. Richard Bennett, Mr. Thomas Stagge, Captain Edmund Curtis and Captain William Claiborne," appointed those men as commissioners for the "reduction of Virginia and plantations of the Chesapeake and the inhabitants thereof, to their due obedience to the Commonwealth of England." Maryland was not specifically mentioned.³²

Denis, Stagge and Curtis were naval officers and residents of England. Richard Bennett and William Claiborne already were in Virginia. When this virtual task force from England arrived in Virginia, Governor William Berkeley reluctantly surrendered. The two Virginia commissioners and Curtis moved on to St. Mary's where they seized the Maryland government which already had proclaimed for the Commonwealth.³³ In the light of history, therefore, the motives of Richard Bennett and William Claiborne as regards the Maryland Province seem to have been the domination of Maryland and the Chesapeake Bay area.

When James I had chartered the Virginia Company in 1605, much of the Atlantic seaboard south of the Hudson River had been granted to it. In 1624, however, that charter had been revoked and the area again became Crown property. Therefore, when Charles I granted the Province of Maryland to Lord Baltimore in 1632, it was carved from territory that formerly had been given to the defunct Virginia Company. This the Crown had a clear legal right to do, but some Virginians bitterly resented the passing of the control of the upper Chesapeake Bay to Lord Baltimore. However, the Maryland charter was clear upon the point that "The Freeholder or Inhabitants of the said Colony or Country [Maryland] shall not henceforth be held or reputed a member or Part of the Land of Virginia or of any other Colony already transported."³⁴

Nevertheless, without regard to the charter, or to the 1651 writ, the latter of which directed only "obedience to the Commonwealth," Bennett and Claiborne saw an opportunity to seize not only the government of Maryland, but the whole Province and again make it a part of Virginia. This, in fact, was what they had promised in the terms of

Governor Berkeley's surrender.³⁵ This would also help them to force abandonment of the use of the Book of Common Prayer in Maryland as they had already ordered in Virginia.³⁶ Underlying their action—and carefully shrouded by cries of civil war and charges of religious conflict—was their real objective—control of the rich trading areas of the Chesapeake Bay for their own economic gain.

For some unexplained reason, soon after their seizure of the Maryland government in March, 1652, Bennett and Claiborne returned to the Province and reinstated Governor William Stone, treating their previous actions as the result of a misunderstanding.³⁷ In the same year Richard Bennett was elected governor of Virginia by its Assembly, and William Claiborne was appointed secretary of state. On July 22, 1654, Bennett and Claiborne again seized the government of Lord Baltimore and most of the Maryland Province with no more authority than the 1651 writ of the English Council of State.³⁸ By then this order was void because, in 1653, Oliver Cromwell had become Lord Protector and thereafter all writs were required to be in his name. Moreover, on May 6, 1654, Governor Stone and the inhabitants of Maryland already had proclaimed submission to the authority and power of Cromwell as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. Because of the lack of effective and prompt communication, Governor Stone had not received the news concerning the elevation of Cromwell until the latter part of April.³⁹

Richard Bennett was the son of Edward Bennett who had been patriarch of the Virginia Puritans who came to Anne Arundel County. He is credited as having come into Maryland about the time that Anne Arundel County was formed in 1650. No firm evidence exists that he remained, or ever actually resided in Maryland, or that he intended to renounce his Virginia citizenship. In 1651 he did claim about 250 acres of land on Towne Necke, at the mouth of Severn River, for himself and ten of his followers.⁴⁰ This is the basis for the belief that the first settlement in the Severn area was on Towne Necke, later Greenbury Point. Some writers have said that Bennett was to have 100 acres, while the rest was to be divided into ten tracts of fifteen acres each so that he and his followers could be seated closely for mutual protection. While this may have been their original intention, the events of 1651, when Bennett was named a Parliamentary commissioner, and those of 1652, when he and William Claiborne first seized the Maryland government, must have caused a change of plans.

The land records of 1654 show that Bennett had acquired the right to the entire tract of 250 acres, but that for a valuable consideration he had sold the property to Colonel Nathaniel Utie. Lord Baltimore granted it to Utie in the same year,⁴¹ and a patent for Towne Necke

was issued to him in 1658 to validate the 1654 grant.⁴² Anne Arundel County rent rolls for the Broad Neck Hundred give no indication that this land ever was granted to Bennett or his followers, or that they constructed dwellings or other buildings there, or were even in physical possession of the land known as Towne Necke. In 1651 Bennett also obtained a certificate of survey for land in the Herring Creek Hundred,⁴³ but again the land was not granted to him.

William Claiborne was a known enemy of Lord Baltimore. Originally a King's man, he was at this time a Puritan opportunist, coveting that which already had been denied him by both Charles I and the English Parliament. Before the King had issued the Maryland charter, Claiborne had gone to England to oppose the grant. When the granting of a charter seemed certain, he rushed back to Virginia armed with only a license to trade in the Chesapeake area. Purportedly issued by the King, the license bore the Scottish seal. Then he hurriedly developed a trading post on Kent Island, probably knowing that the area was to be included in the Maryland grant. By backing Richard Ingle in 1643 when the latter seized the Maryland government at St. Mary's, and by repeated appeals to the Lords of Plantations, he continually attempted to thwart the objectives of Lord Baltimore and his Maryland governors. At the very outset Lord Baltimore issued orders to placate Claiborne as a first order of business of the founding expedition.⁴⁴ Following the bloodless seizure of the Maryland government in 1654, Bennett and Claiborne returned to Virginia. They had, in clear violation of even the void writ of the Council of State of 1651, seized a government that had already submitted to the authority of the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth.

The new Maryland government set up by Bennett and Claiborne in 1654 consisted of Captain William Fuller, Richard Preston, William Durand, Edward Lloyd—previously an appointee in the county government by Governor Stone—Captain John Smith, Leonard Strong, John Lawson, John Hatch, Richard Wells and Richard Ewen. Any four of the group could act provided that one of the four was Fuller, Preston or Durand.⁴⁵ Thus, these three men virtually controlled the resident Puritan government of Maryland from 1654 until its restoration to Lord Baltimore in 1658. Captain William Fuller had the added authority of being commander of the military forces and often was referred to as "Governor."⁴⁶ All three soon became convinced Quakers, and, ironically, Richard Bennett himself also was convinced by William Edmundson in 1672.⁴⁷

The rights and authority of Lord Baltimore under the Maryland charter had been challenged many times before by William Claiborne and others. Now, as Secretary of State of Virginia, Claiborne supported

Governor Richard Bennett in a petition to the Lord Protector in England to revoke the Maryland charter and return the land to Virginia. After the seizure of the Maryland government in 1654 by Bennett and Claiborne—an action undertaken with neither the knowledge nor consent of Oliver Cromwell—the new government controlled most of the Province and considered it a part of Virginia.⁴⁸ However, Governor William Stone, his Council, and a number of loyal Marylanders waited in St. Mary's County for news of a decision from England regarding the Maryland grant.

Early in 1655 a messenger from England arrived at St. Mary's with word that in all likelihood Lord Baltimore's charter would not be disturbed. Also came instructions from the proprietor to Stone to proceed at once to bring the so-called Puritans of the Chesapeake under his authority.⁴⁹ In March, 1655, Maryland forces from St. Mary's sailed up the Chesapeake Bay to confer with the resident Virginia-dominated government forces of Fuller, Durand and Preston. Instead of a conference the meeting resulted in the so-called Battle of the Severn, fought on Sunday, March 25, 1655. Contemporary accounts of the affair obviously are biased and contradictory. One of the most violent was written by the Puritan spokesman, Leonard Strong, who, an historian has stated, also became a Friend.⁵⁰

Only upon two or three points do all of the narrators agree. First, the Virginia-dominated forces, aided by a large armed merchant vessel, were victorious over the Marylanders. It is not known how many of the local settlers, who only a few years before had sought refuge in and had been welcomed to Maryland, fought with the Puritans. Second, the so-called Puritans lost two men killed on the field and two who died later, while the Marylanders reported about fifty men slain or wounded and only four or five who escaped. This disparity in casualties leaves room for speculation as to what actually happened on that bloody Sunday. Third, after Governor Stone had given quarter and surrendered four more of his men were shot to death and he, although wounded, almost suffered the same fate.⁵¹

Most writers seem to have overlooked the real cause of this black spot in Maryland history. It has been called a civil war, or a conflict between Protestants and Catholics. However, firm evidence supports the fact that the whole affair was brought about by the attempt of Bennett and Claiborne to annex Maryland to Virginia. Without such pressure it is doubtful whether the bloody conflict would have developed.

While the faith of Lord Baltimore may have been, and probably was, a factor in the affair, to seize upon the premise that it was entirely a matter of Catholic against Protestant is not supported by the facts.

Governor Stone who led the Maryland forces was a Protestant, as was Secretary of State Thomas Hatton who there gave his life for his beloved Province. Only a few years before in the name of all freemen of Maryland, he had signed the famous Toleration Act. Others of Governor Stone's officers and leaders, such as Captain John Price, Job Chandler, Captain Nicholas Guither, Henry Coursey and Thomas Truman were non-Catholics. Although many members of Lord Baltimore's forces may have been Catholics, the fact that practically all of the leaders were Protestants makes untenable the charge that the battle was an engagement of religion against religion. In fact, the various beliefs of the followers of Governor Stone represented an excellent example of the toleration practiced in Maryland under the founding proprietor.

Opposition to the authority of Lord Baltimore in Maryland did not originate with the Puritans, many of whom were to become Quakers. The resistance started in Virginia and there it was concluded. For when Cromwell, through his Committee on Trade and Plantations, supported Cecil, Second Lord Baltimore, in his claim to the Maryland Province, the resulting agreement was not signed by him and the Puritans of Maryland. Instead, on September 16, 1656, an agreement was reached with Samuel Matthews, representing Richard Bennett who later ratified it on November 30, 1657.⁵² Both were Virginia residents and former governors of that colony. One of the strange provisions of the agreement was contained in its fourth section which declared that "the Lord Baltimore doth promise, that he will never give his assent to the repeal of a law, established heretofore in Maryland [the Toleration Act of 1649] with his Lordship's consent [which the Puritans had themselves nullified in 1654] and mentioned in the said report of the Committee for Trade, whereby all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ have freedom of conscience there."⁵³ Since the Toleration Act of 1649 was thus emphasized by the Committee for Trade, it may well have been the main reason why Lord Baltimore was supported by the Lord Protector in his right to the Province.

FRIENDS AMONG THE FIRST SETTLERS

The exact date of the arrival of Elizabeth Harris in Maryland is not known, but most historians set the year as 1656. Some state that she came in September of that year,¹ while one authority believes she may have arrived as early as the summer or fall of 1655.² The known facts are that she was sent to America in 1655, labored in Maryland for about a year, and returned to England at some time prior to July, 1657.³ Thus, if the 4th month of 1657 (Old Style) is taken as the date of her return to England and approximately six months travel time is allowed plus about one year in America, it seems possible and even likely that she arrived in Maryland before the end of 1655.

At the time of Elizabeth Harris's labors in Anne Arundel, then Providence, County, perhaps one or two hundred families were settled about the area extending from Herring Bay on the south to the Magothy River on the north. Captain William Fuller and William Durand, two of the leading resident Puritan officials, were seated in the Severn area. Each also had claimed land in Calvert, then Patuxent, County. A third official, Richard Preston, resided on the Patuxent River in lower Calvert County and Puritan assemblies were held at his house.⁴ There were no towns or villages, although Herrington at Herring Bay, Londontowne at South River and Arundelton, later Annapolis, on the Severn River, all had their beginnings with the coming of the settlers from Virginia in 1649 and 1650.

While some of the newcomers arrived in the Severn area in 1649, Annapolis dates more specifically from the next year during which Thomas Todd, a shipwright, settled on the peninsula between the Severn River and Spa Creek, then called "Todds." He claimed three tracts of land, "Todds," "Todds Harbour" and "Todds Range." Around his ship repair facilities a settlement, first called "Annarundel," for Anne Arundell, as was the county, started and slowly developed. On the Augustine Herrman Map, published in 1673 from surveys made several years earlier, this settlement was labelled "Arundelton." Later, it was known as the "Town at Proctors" and, as the new capital of the Province, it was called "Anne Arundelton," or "the town and port at Anne Arundel." The name soon became Annapolis. As the "Town at Proctors," the settlement was made a port of entry for the Severn area in 1683, along with Londontowne for South River and Herrington for Herring Bay.⁵ The act so creating it also directed that

a town be laid out, and it is presumed that this was done. However, growth was still slow.

Under the Act of 1683 a town also was laid out at Londontowne on land given by Colonel William Burgess who had settled there in 1650. It developed rapidly until the capital was moved from St. Mary's to the Severn. After 1700 it slowly declined. Today only one Eighteenth Century house remains.

Evidence exists that Herrington, also shown on the Herrman Map, actually was laid out and subdivided into lots before 1676, but the exact date is not known. It was located on so-called Town Land, surveyed for William Parker, October 24, 1651. In 1676 Samuel Chew I of Herring Bay willed lots in Herrington to his son, an indication of an earlier settlement.⁶ The development of Herrington, however, was not comparable to that of Londontowne or Arundelton.

In Maryland, a tobacco colony, new settlers were eager for land which was promised to them under the liberal plantation acts. No need for towns or villages existed. Because there were no roads and only a few trails, travel was mostly by small boat. Houses were small and primitive. Due to the political unrest that existed from 1651, when the county declined to send delegates to the General Assembly, through the period of the so-called Battle of the Severn in 1655, the people of Anne Arundel County had little opportunity to settle down to making the most of the area's resources. Food was no problem for wild herbs, fruits, game and seafood were plentiful. But after years of uncertainty and persecution there burned in the hearts of the newcomers the instinctive yearning for a permanent home. And after having failed to set up an independent church in Virginia, their principal desire was for a new religious way of life. A more fertile place in which to sow the seeds of such a religious movement did not exist.

Before describing the labors of Elizabeth Harris in Maryland, it may be pertinent to review the treatment accorded to some of the other messengers who attempted to plant Quakerism in America. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin are generally credited as being the first to reach America since they are known to have arrived at Boston in July, 1656.⁷ Yet they accomplished little because they were immediately imprisoned by the Puritan government of Massachusetts and about two months later were deported. No opportunity was given them to make contact with the people.⁸ The treatment by the Massachusetts government of those pious and dedicated women, and of others who followed, was entirely different from that accorded to Quaker messengers in Maryland.

One historian relates:

When Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived in the road before Boston, before even a law was made against Quakers; and yet they were very ill

treated; for before they came ashore the deputy Governor, Richard Bellingham (the Governor himself being out of town) sent officers aboard who searched their trunks and chests and took away the books they found there which were about one hundred and carried them ashore after having commanded the said women to be kept prisoners aboard; and the books were by order of the Council burnt in the market place by the hangman. Afterwards the deputy Governor had them brought ashore and committed them by mittimus to prison as Quakers. And they were shut up in close prisons and command was given that none should come to them without leave; a fine of five pounds being laid on anyone that should other wise come at or speak to them throu the window. Their pens, ink and paper were taken from them and they not suffered to have any candle light in the night season; nay what is more they were stripped naked under pretense to know whether they were witches though in searching no token was found upon them but innocence; and in this search they were so barbarously misused that modesty forbids to mention it; and that none have communication with them a board was nailed up before the window of the jail and seeing they were not provided with victuals Nicholas Upsal one who had lived long in Boston and was a member of the Church there was so concerned about it (liberty being denied to send them provision) that he purchased it of the jailor at the rate of five shillings a week lest they should have starved. And after having been about five weeks prisoners William Chichester Master of a vessel was bound in one hundred pounds bond to carry them back and not suffer anyone to speak to them after they were put on board; and the jailor kept their beds which were brought out of the ship and their bibles for his fees.⁹

This account presents but a mild example of the persecution of Friends that was to come, for Christopher Holder, Thomas Thirstone (Thurston), William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Whitehead (Weatherhead) and Dorothy Waugh followed Mary Fisher and Ann Austin to Massachusetts about a month after their deportation. They received similar treatment, and about eleven weeks later they too were sent away.¹⁰ Not until mid-summer of 1657 did tenacious Friends succeed in landing messengers who had an opportunity to make convincements. By that time Elizabeth Harris already had labored about a year in Maryland and had returned home.

On the ship *Woodhouse*, which, under the command of Captain Robert Fowler, sailed from England about June 15, 1657, came Friends William Robinson, Humphrey Norton, Richard Doudney, Robert Hodgson and Mary Clark who landed on Long Island; also Christopher Holder, John Copeland, William Brend, Sarah Gibbons, and Dorothy Waugh who disembarked at Newport, August 3, 1657.¹¹ Of those coming to America on this vessel William Robinson, Robert Hodgson, and Christopher Holder later labored in Maryland, and Thomas Thurston, after several visits to the Province, finally settled here permanently.

In reviewing the adventures of some of the fifteen early Friends who sought to gain a foothold for the movement in New England and Long Island, there is no intent to claim that the treatment they received was peculiar to those areas, for, at the time, Friends were treated just as cruelly in England. The sole purpose is to contrast their reception in those places with the mild restraints that Friends were subjected to in Maryland, at times, and which some historians have characterized as persecution.

Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, the first Quaker messengers in New England, seem to have escaped the extreme treatment of those immediately following them. Receiving only close imprisonment and meager food, they were stripped of their clothing and searched for witches' tokens. After their deportation there is no record of their return.

However, Christopher Holder and John Copeland did not fare as well. They were cruelly whipped and imprisoned in Boston, and, finally, had their ears cut off.¹² William Brend was jailed and barbarously used. Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh were imprisoned without food and whipped. William Robinson, who also worked later in Maryland, was whipped and banished from Boston. Upon returning he was imprisoned, sentenced to death and hanged. Finally, his body was cut down and inhumanly treated.¹³ Dorothy Waugh, who labored on Long Island as well as in New England, had been a maidservant in Preston Patrick, Westmoreland. Later she married and lived in Yorkshire.¹⁴

At New Haven, in 1659, Humphrey Norton was whipped and branded in the hand with the letter "H" for heretic. He was the same Humphrey Norton who, in 1656, offered to serve a prison sentence for George Fox in England. Richard Doudney was apprehended at Dedham and brought to Boston, where he was imprisoned, whipped, and sent away with Holder and Copeland. Robert Hodshome (Hodgson) was imprisoned on Long Island by the Dutch at the instigation of the English. Mary Clark was cruelly whipped and imprisoned for twelve weeks in New England.¹⁵

After his return to America, in 1657, Thomas Thirstone (Thurston) traveled through the colonies and several times came into Maryland where he was granted land for permanent settlement some time before 1664.¹⁶ During his stay he was the subject of much controversy and dispute among the Quakers and was rebuked by both George Fox and John Burnyeat.¹⁷ Although the treatment of Thurston in Maryland has been called persecution, in view of his strained relationship with leading Friends, some doubt exists that his actions reflected the true spirit of organized Quakerism. Originally a shoemaker,¹⁸ he died in Maryland a landholder.¹⁹ No record has been found as to the fate of

Mary Prince. According to Fox, Mary Whetherhead (Whitehead) was shot at sea and killed.²⁰

While the attention of most historians has been focused upon the invasion of New England by Quaker messengers, little note has been made of the labors of Elizabeth Harris in Maryland and of her initial convincements there. She was received in the Puritan-controlled section of the Province without religious or governmental opposition and, within a few months, had convinced a number of the leading people in Anne Arundel, then Providence, County. Among the first commissioners who governed Anne Arundel County, she convinced Henry Catlyn (Caplin) and Thomas Mears who also soon became a Friend.²¹ Of the members of the Puritan government for the Province, she convinced both Captain William Fuller, resident governor, and William Durand, secretary of state.²² Directly or indirectly, she caused Richard Preston, later called the "Great Quaker,"²³ to join the movement. While there is no proof that Richard Ewen became a Friend, it is known that in 1657 he refused to take an oath and declared it unlawful to do so. His daughter, Elizabeth, married, first, Richard Talbott, and, second, William Richardson both well-known and ardent Friends.²⁴

The results of the labors of Elizabeth Harris in Maryland are learned from a letter written by Thomas Hart of London dated the 28th day of the 2nd month, 1658, which embodied a copy of another letter dated the 14th day of the 11th month, 1657, and written by Robert Clarkson of the Severn area in Anne Arundel County to Elizabeth Harris after she had returned to London. From this letter it is possible to list the names of Maryland's first Friends and to document some of Elizabeth Harris's convincements. It also proves the existence and the location of both public and private Meetings of Friends in 1657. Most of the content and all of the material facts of both the Hart and Clarkson letters can now be explained.

Elizabeth Harris had returned to England from Maryland before July, 1657. In the same month Gerard Roberts of London wrote to George Fox in part as follows: "The Friend who went to Virginia is returned in a pretty condition. There she was gladly received by many who met together and the Governor is convinced."²⁵

The letter, now in the Swarthmore Collection, Friends Historical Society, London, follows:

London the 28th of the 2^d instn 1658.

Deare ffreinds: yrs of the 17th Instant is recd, & the Inclosed, Sent according to Direction, yesterday I recd a second letter, from George H(?)ayles, at Ve--- wth one Inclosed from Elliz Harris, & Eliz Koword signifeing theire Embarckuing, for England, by this tyme they may haue bin a fortnight att Sea, the letters coming by post through the land, are

heare in twenty dayes, wch by sea is ordinarily seven weekes passage, their dear loue is remembered to all friends, I perceiue they knew nothing of Ino Parrots being ariued in ye Roads though tis like hee had bin there many dayes butt nott gott ashore, the Glorious, & tirrrible presence, of the mighty God with him & for his preseruacion, to ye Confounding & Astonishment of those yt sought their liues I preeceiue you will haue knowliedg of, bye the hands of E B, who as I taikie it hath sent you a Cobby of IP[?] his letter to him whereby you will haue ocacion to Admire, & prayse the Lord who haith apeareed & is apeareing, tirrrible, out of his holy habitation, or dwelling, his sonns & dafters, who art a willing people in this the day of his powre; truly euery day is ocacion reinewed, of glory & prayses to the Lord God omnipotent who is taikieing to himselfe his mighty powre & will Reighin, yesterday also came a letter from virginia, for Eliz. Harris, signifieing, a good fruite of hir labours there for the Lord, wch that you may the better vnderstand taikie A Copy of the letter, wch heare ensueth

Elizabeth Harris, Deare hearte; I salute thee in ye tender loue of the father wch moued in thee towards ye goode of god in vs wch had longe leynn hid & bin made a pray vpon by the dragon [who] first made ware wth ye lambes & by his subteleties ouercame but when ye apoynted tyme of the father was come he fulfilled the good word of his grace wch he spake by his sperit concereining his sonn, yt he would not leaue his soule in graue nor suffer his holy one to see corruption it being impossible yt he could be houlden vnder of deth but by the powre of his resurreccion in mee, hee hath brocken those bonds & hath manifested that blessed life in his son whome hee hath rayseed from the ded, wherein the second deth haith noe powre (glory bee to his name foreuermore) and this haith his arme & powre wrought, after a short tyme of tribulation wch was wauehed [i. e., weighed] against the man of sin & son of perdition in mee decayed him to be cursed & judged him & his ofspring in mee & haith remoued him by the eternall powre of his eternall word of trueth wch was from the begining but maide manifest in due tyme of wch word I [haue] owned thee & doe owne thee to haue bin a minister, by ye Good will of god to baire outward testimony to yt inward word of truth in mee & others euen as many as the lord in tender loue & mercy did giue an eare to heare prayses bee to his name foreuer of which word of life god hath made my wife partakers wth mee & haith established oure heartes in his feare, & likewise Ann Dorsey in a more larger measure, hir husband I hope abideth faithfull in his measure likewise Jno: Baldin, and Henry Caplin & Ann Warner hath been vnsetled in hir conuinsment by hearckning to Ann Couell in soe much yt at a private meeting at my house, shee denied the light in vs, to be Christ, to the greefe of our spirrits wch greefe brake forth into teares, from Milcah desiring of hir yt shee would nott giue eare to yt spirit in Ann Couell wch had before manifested itselfe in a publyck meeteing denying xt [Christ] in yt low apearance; the next first day after wch [Ann] Warner tould us yt Milcahs teares weare of force wth hir, to reclayme hir soe many drops of blood; since yt shee haith nott gainsayd

anything of yt light yt wee haue heard but haith severall tymes tould yt shee Agreed with Ann Couell, in all things, onely yt shee was against meeteings wch at yt tyme before mencioned also agreed wth hir, in judgment, but it pleased the Lord to convince hir before shee fell into practise, I hope she doth abide in hir convinsment

Rich: Beard, was in a miraculouse way conuincd in ye fore pt of the sumer, by a clap of thunder he being at worke in ye wood, & one neare wth him in ra[i]ny wether, & at yt instant it thundered much as is usuall in ye summertyme in soe much yt itt wrought a feare in him, & put him to the risk of his condition, & it did appeare to him to bee, vnsafe, hee seeing nothing to trust to, there being soe many opinions that hee did nott know wch to chuse hee then being in feare not knowing wt would become of him in yt Condition; desired that ye Lord would manifest to him, concerning the way wch was Knowne amongst vs whether it was the true way of good or not yt it mought be maide knowne to him by thunder, & at that same instant there came a clap of thunder wch was verry greate, in soe much yt it broake a tree very neeare them & strooke him yt was wth him to ye ground, & himselfe could scarce recouer from faleing & a powrefull answer came to him at the same Instant, that yt wch hee had inquired, of was ye true way of god & forthwith he decayred it abroad & was conuincd thereby wherein I hope he abides

Charles Balye, ye younge man who was wth vs at or [our?] parting abides conuincd & severall others in the p[ar]ts where hee dwelt; Elizabeth Beasley abides as shee was when thou wast here One Tho: Cole & one Will Cole, haith both made open confesion of the truth, likewise henry Woolchurch, & many other suffers wth vs the reproachfull name (I know nott how many witness the new name) Will fuller abides Conuincd, I know nott butt that Will Durand doth the like he frequents our meetings but seldome, indeede wee haue a smale Company now of late Nickoles Wyate abides conuincd, & this I haue been mooued to write thee word briefely concerning the works of the lord amongst vs, both in myselfe & others since Thy departure from hence as the Lord haith giuen mee to discerne of itt though absent in body yet being kept present in yt loue wch did first moue visibly in thee towards vs, I say being Kept abideing in yt wee may rejoyce together there being Joye in heauen at the Conuention of one sinner, & truely in yt loue of god maide manifest in thee towards vs in yee remembrance of it I haue bin filled wth soule refreshment & joye vnspeakable glory bee to his name who is the liuing fountaine wch fills all yt abides in him. The two bookes wch thou gauest mee to Deliuer the one to Tho: Tally his wife and the other to An Iames I did suddinly after our parting Deliuer I haue nott heard of anything of the lords work in them since wee were moued by thy desire yt an [Ann] Dorcey to visett An Iames, butt I haue no thing to mention of hir to thee, I hope Tho: Couell is t[?]ender of the truth, Deare ffriend the last Kindnesse & the Kindneses of the rest of friends there wch yr loue haith stirred vp towards vs is by the prouidence of god come safe to our hands Of

R[ichard] Owens wee read euery particuler, thy letter & the rest of the letters from the others of our friends therein att ye reading where of the measures of god in vs who were together then present who were Edw: Dorcy & his wife & I & my wife Henry Caplin Eliz Beaslys, & sum others I say of a truth the measure of god in vs was abundantly refreshed in reading of the notions of the fathers louings towards vs wch mocions flow les[s] freely from him, & in the measure wch wee haue seed according as ye lord hath bin pleased to communicate to vs generally I say in our measures of the same loue we freely accept yors Glory bee to his name who haith made vs partakers together of his rich loue & grace & there is all we haue to return desireing to be kept together in ye bond of union as oportunitie gave leave severall of yor friends had vview of thy letters, Will Durand desired a copy of thy letter wch I haue drawne out for him, so far as it concerned generall also I haue given him a copy of E. B's letters & seuerall others I haue giuen oute

The two messingers wch thou spokest of in thy letters is nott yet come to this place wee heard of two come to virginia in the forepart of the winter but we heard that they were soone putt in prison, by the powre of the Beast & nott suffered to pass, wee heard further that they desired liberty to passe to this place but it was denyed them wherevpon one of them, answered yt though they mought not be suffered as yett yt he must come another tyme we haue heard yt they are to be kept in prison till the ship yt brought them be ready to depart the Country againe, & them to be sent out of the Country We haue disposed of the most pt of the bookes wch were sent in so as yt all p[art]s are furnished, soe yt eney one that desires may haue benifit by them, to Herrin Creeke, Roade Riuer, South riuer all about Seueron ye braud nick & their aboute ye seuen mountaines, & Kent all those pts are soe furnished that euery one may haue use of them if the lord maik them free sum we haue yet to dispose of, as the lord giues oportunitie we shall giue them forth to them that desires them denying none except Walter Smith who oposed the apearance of god in thee to thy face & doth soe continue profession of the light in words butt abides in darknesse, & in ye darknesse reacheth griedily after the bookes thinking to comprehend them & the principle from whence they came forth & to turne them into his likenesse & is not comprehended by them to be brought vnder the powre of the light wherewith he is lightned, but turns all things into his Ill use through the filthy, subtely wch he is full of yt as yett we haue nott freedom, to giue him any Will Eliott rec[eive]d his goods thou sent him, also thy token[?] were recd as thou didst disire them, onely I know nott if An Couell recd hirs It is likely shee haid Ann Warner toake them for hir it is likely shee haith helped hir to[?] them I cannot affirme, noe further then I know, thy husbands kind[ness?] I accept freely It is likely I may maik use of it heere after if the lord continues me wth life, at present wee haue noe ships heere wch is bound for London. Marth[a &] Tho Varwell is nott yet come hether wth my deare love I solute thy husband & the rest of friends there I shall seace [cease] at present

conuersing with in words written with Inck & paper, & rest wth thee & the rest of the gathered ones, in eternall wor[l]d wch abideth for euer farewell

From Seueron ye 14th of ye 11th mo[n]th 16[5?]7

Robt Clarksonne

Some confusion as to the scene of Elizabeth Harris's labors has resulted from the use of the word "Virginia" in both the Roberts-Fox and the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letters. Most historians have concluded that the designation meant that specific Crown Colony. The Maryland historian, however, interprets the use of the word "Virginia" at the time that the letters were written as referring to that area of the Province of Maryland controlled by the so-called Puritan government of Fuller, Preston and Durand. That regime was directed by Richard Bennett, former governor, and William Claiborne, former Secretary of State of Virginia.

As one historian put it, "Meaning, 'betwixt Maryland' and the Puritans settled at Providence on the Severn. It would appear from this, and the exclusive application from the term *Marylanders* to the inhabitants of St. Mary's County at the time of the Battle of the Severn [1655], as before mentioned, and from other circumstances, that the Puritans on the Severn did not acknowledge themselves as being within Lord Baltimore's province of Maryland, but as being either a part of Virginia or a distinct colony by themselves."²⁶

While the use of the term "Virginia" to denote a part of Maryland at that time is easily explained, it is difficult to follow the conjectural reasoning of some writers as to the identification of the governor referred to in the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter as "convinced." Early historians thought that the person referred to was Robert Clarkson until it developed that he had never been governor of either Virginia or Maryland. Then the guessing centered on William Durand. The only person not prominently mentioned was the resident governor of Puritan Maryland, Captain William Fuller. He was often called "Governor," and when the ruling authority of the Province finally was transferred back to the representatives of Lord Baltimore at Patuxent, on March 22, 1658, Fuller acted for the Puritans.²⁷ The fact that this conclusion has not been reached earlier may be due to a long-standing misreading of the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter in a reference to William Fuller. The statement has been transcribed as, "Will Fuller abides unmoved."²⁸ Actually the letter reads, "Will Fuller abides convinced." The changed meaning, of course, is fundamental.

In the Hart portion of the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter it is noted that by the 20th day of the 2nd month, 1658, Elizabeth Harris was on her way back to England. Evidently soon after her return from

Maryland at some time before July, 1657, she had ventured abroad again to spread the doctrine of the Inward Light.

A fuller understanding of the import of the letter will result from a review of conditions in Anne Arundel County at the time Elizabeth Harris labored there. After the Puritan victory over the loyal followers of Governor Stone and Lord Baltimore in the so-called Battle of the Severn on March 25, 1655, the Maryland settlers were compelled to re-evaluate their situation. At the time of the crisis some of them had been called for militia duty from the plantations which they hoped to obtain as grants from the government. Yet only a few years before, they had sought asylum on the wooded shores of the Chesapeake, now beautifully green and fertile. Perhaps they were stunned by the realization that, in fact, the so-called Battle of the Severn was a surprise attack—that their leaders, aided and abetted by plotters from Virginia and Kent Island, had shot men who already had laid down their arms and surrendered in accordance with the rules of civilized warfare.²⁹ Even the Secretary of the General Assembly of 1649, William Hatton, a Protestant who had signed the Toleration Act to indicate the assent of the freemen, was one of those who lay dead on the bloody field overlooking the Severn River. Moreover, news had arrived from England that Lord Baltimore most likely would be upheld in his charter right to the Province by the Lord Protector, and that the latter had admonished Richard Bennett of Virginia not to meddle in the governmental affairs of Maryland.³⁰ And while the Puritan leaders pressed to confiscate the estate of Governor Stone and some of his followers, and otherwise made a show of belligerency, the people of Herring Bay, West, Road, and South Rivers, “about the Severn,” Broad Neck and the Severn Mountains were listening to the theory of the Inward Light as advanced by Elizabeth Harris. Many were convinced.

Elizabeth Harris's travels covered all of Anne Arundel County, probably some of Calvert County, and possibly part of the Eastern Shore. She planted Quakerism so firmly that by 1671, and probably much earlier, there were settled Meetings in Anne Arundel County at West River and Herring Creek. Other Meetings for the Western Shore were at The Cliffs and Patuxent in Calvert County.³¹

Virtually all of the people mentioned in the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter can be at least partially identified. The writer who signed himself “Robert Clarksonne” was the same Clarkson who lived at “Horn Point” opposite the present site of Annapolis. He was among the first settlers in the area and, at his death which occurred before May 22, 1666, he left his family about 1,000 acres of land.³² A onetime member of the Assembly, in 1662 he was fined for refusing to bear arms in

the county militia.³³ His home plantation of approximately 400 acres was at "Horn Point," and he also owned 200 acres, known as "South Centre," on the Patapsco River at the upper end of the county. A son, Robert, inherited "Horn Point," a daughter, Elizabeth, "South Centre," and a daughter, Mary, the land on Todds Creek. That creek, now known as Spa Creek, was named for Thomas Todd who on July 8, 1651, had surveyed a tract of land "on ye south side of the Severn" which, as has been stated, is believed to contain most of the present site of Annapolis.³⁴

On November 22, 1651, Nicholas Wyatt also had land surveyed on the south side of the Severn River.³⁵ Clarkson in his letter mentioned that Wyatt "abides convinced." He was granted by patent, "Wyatts Harbour," "Wyatts Hills," "Beare Ridge," "Wayfield" and "Wyatts Ridge," all in the Middle Neck Hundred. Those grants extended from the Severn River, immediately south of the present Round Bay, to a point below the present General's Highway, and included the site known today as "Belvoir." Wyatt came to Maryland from Virginia in 1650 with Thomas Todd, Matthew Howard and Edward Dorsey.³⁶ Soon becoming a large landholder, he was one of the first Marylanders to be convinced by Elizabeth Harris. Wyatt died before January 22, 1673, leaving a wife, Damaras, a son, Samuel, and a daughter, Sarah.³⁷

Ann and Edward Dorsey, mentioned by Clarkson as convinced Quakers, were founders of the Dorsey family of Maryland. Their sons were Edward, Joshua and John. Edward Dorsey's land, "Dorsey," was on Dorsey, now College, Creek. He surveyed "Hockley in the Hole," which was granted to his three sons on January 27, 1663,³⁸ after his death by drowning.³⁹ A son, Edward II, was the Major Edward Dorsey who, by act of the Assembly in 1694, was appointed one of the first commissioners for the "Town Land at Proctors," now Annapolis.⁴⁰

It was at the house of Major Edward Dorsey that the first Assembly of Maryland held in the new capital of the Province met on February 28, 1695.⁴¹ The major was an avowed supporter of Charles, Third Lord Baltimore. In 1689 he signed a petition to King William III, endorsed by many prominent men of Maryland, "setting forth the privileges which they had received under the deposed Lord Baltimore and protested against the intrigue of John Coode who, with others, undermined the Proprietary Government." He was a member of the Jacobite Party, and other accused Jacobites were Colonel Henry Darnall, a Roman Catholic, Samuel Chew II, a Quaker, and Maren Duval, a Protestant.⁴² Politics makes strange alliances.

John Baldwin, also named by Clarkson as one of the first Quakers to abide convinced, took up land called "Baldwins Addition"⁴³ as well as other nearby tracts in the Middle Neck Hundred near the head

of South River. He died in 1684.⁴⁴ A daughter, Margaret, became the wife of Thomas Crutchly, and another, Ruth, married into the Howard family.⁴⁵ At a court in Anne Arundel during 1662 Baldwin, Nicholas Wyatt and others were fined for refusing to bear arms in the county militia.⁴⁶ Baldwin remembered the Quaker ministry in his will, probated on June 16, 1684. His son, John Baldwin, "gentleman," expanded the family fortune, and at his death by will proved on March 26, 1715, he left substantial acreage to his sons and daughters, including a house and lot at Londontowne on South River and houses and lots in Annapolis.⁴⁷ In 1662 John Baldwin, Sr., owned a tract of land called "Brushy Neck" on the north side of South River⁴⁸ and adjacent to "Harris's Mount," the property of William and Elizabeth Harris.⁴⁹ The metes and bounds described in the Harris grant identify its relationship to Baldwin's property. Elizabeth Beasley, another Quaker mentioned by Clarkson, was a beneficiary in the will of William Harris in 1669.⁵⁰ This Elizabeth Harris, wife of William, probably was Maryland's first Friend and the person to whom the Clarkson letter was addressed.

The Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter also stated that "Ann Dorsey and in a more larger measure her husband I hope abide faithfull in his measure like wise Jno. Baldwin and Henry Caplin." The last-named, identified as Henry Catlyn, was appointed one of the first commissioners to govern Anne Arundel County by Governor William Stone for Lord Baltimore on July 30, 1650. Two years earlier he had been a member of the vestry of the Elizabeth River Church in Virginia. He took up land in the Broad Neck Hundred on the Severn River almost directly across from the present United States Naval Academy and next to the lands of Edward Lloyd, then commander of the county, and those of James Merryman, another commissioner.⁵² That Catlyn was one of the county's first commissioners and enjoyed the confidence of Governor Stone speak highly for him. However, nothing has been found regarding his activities after the restoration of the government to the authority of Lord Baltimore in 1658. It is believed that he was a bachelor and that he did not remain long on the Severn.⁵³ In 1666 a grant of 40 acres called "Middle Land," was made in Talbot County to a Henry Catline who may have been the same man. Perhaps he moved from the Severn area to the Eastern Shore following a pattern set by many early Quakers.⁵⁴

It has been thought that the Charles Bayle referred to by Clarkson was the Quaker "who helped John Perrot [named in the Hart portion of the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter] to obtain his release from imprisonment in Rome by the Inquisition in 1661 and who became one of the extreme followers of Perrot in the schism which soon followed."⁵⁵

A Charles Bayley and Jane Stoakes are known to have gone to Rome in 1661 in an effort to secure Perrot's freedom, and in a letter written from there the 2nd day of the 4th month, 1661, Perrot mentions the "two lambs with me."⁵⁶ Probably the reference was to Bayley and Stoakes. While it is possible that the Charles Bayle mentioned by Clarkson was the same person who went to Rome, he identified Bayle as "ye younge man," evidently to distinguish him from an older person of the same name. No further account of "ye younge man" in Maryland has been found.

Henry Woolchurch, also a convinced Quaker according to Clarkson, first surveyed "Woolchurch Rest" on the north side of the Severn River⁵⁷ and later settled in Talbot County on the Eastern Shore, where he was prominent in Quaker affairs until his death in 1695. In his will, dated September 28 of the same year, it was his wish that his executors, "daughters Rebecca [Anderson] and Mary [Parrott], and James Ridley be advised by the Quaker Meeting." He left about 1,200 acres of land in addition to his dwelling plantation.⁵⁸

Clarkson also mentioned Ann Covell and Ann Warner. Evidently while Ann Warner had been untroubled in her convincement which reflected the labor of Elizabeth Harris, Ann Covell had been convinced more recently. It was in this connection that Clarkson wrote of both private and public Meetings, using the terminology "at a private meeting at my house" and "manifested its selfe in a public meeting."

Ann Warner was the first wife of James Warner, one of the early settlers of Anne Arundel. On November 20, 1651, land was surveyed for him, and on January 5, 1658, it was granted to him by patent "near the Severn river" in the Middle Neck Hundred. He had been a church warden in Virginia before coming to Maryland.⁵⁹ On January 26, 1663, Warner and Henry Ridgely were granted 600 acres on the north side of South River.⁶⁰ In Warner's will, probated May 25, 1673, he mentioned his wife, Elizabeth, a daughter Johanna, and three sons.⁶¹

In 1661 Ann Covell obtained a certificate of survey for "Covell's Folly," consisting of about 500 acres on the south side of South River in the South River Hundred. A patent was granted in 1663.⁶² The location was near the plantation of Richard Beard, another of the first Friends in the area. Clarkson also referred to Ann Covell's husband, Thomas, and hoped that he, too, was a "vendor" of the Truth. The records are silent as to the deaths of both Ann and Thomas Covell, but later their plantation passed into the possession of others as follows: Benjamin Williams, 100 acres; Walter Phelps, 100 acres; John Sellman, 87½ acres; James Berton, 87½ acres; and Amos Garrett, 25 acres.⁶³

It has previously been stated that, according to Clarkson, Henry Caplin, or Catlyn, who held county office under Lord Baltimore and Governor Stone, had been convinced by Elizabeth Harris. However, the realization that Captain William Fuller and William Durand, two of the most powerful resident Puritan officials of the period, had also been convinced is somewhat startling. This would seem to have been the only occasion in history that the leading officials of an American province were converted to a new religious way of life while in office. The third of the three principal Puritan officials, Richard Preston, also became a Quaker, although Clarkson did not refer to him in his letter.⁶⁴

Preston was seated on the Patuxent, in Calvert County, at "Preston on the Patuxent," now "Charles Gift," where on occasion, Puritan assemblies met.⁶⁵ In 1657, therefore, he was probably far removed from Clarkson. Both Captain Fuller and Preston were present at Patuxent when the province was returned to the authority of Lord Baltimore.⁶⁶ Of the six Puritan representatives in attendance on that day, March 22, 1658, Thomas Mears, Philip Thomas and Samuel Withers were also Friends.

It is now generally believed, that Captain Fuller was a former Cromwellian soldier. Whether he came with the first group of settlers to the Providence area of Maryland, or was brought in about the time of the first seizure of the Provincial government by Bennett and Claiborne in 1652 is not definitely known. He was first heard of in Maryland when "at a court held at St. Mary's the 28th of June Anno domini 1652 being the first sitting of the court after the alteration of the government, the same day [Governor Stone having been restored to authority]. Present William Stone, Esq., Governor, Col. Francis Yardley, Mr. Job Chandler, Mr. Richard Preston," it was ordered that full authority and power be given to Richard Bennett, Esq., later Governor of Virginia, Edward Lloyd, Captain William Fuller, Thomas Marsh and Leonard Strong to consult and treat with the Susquehanna Indians to conclude a peace.⁶⁷ The result was the signing of a treaty with the Indians on July 5, 1652,⁶⁸ supposedly under the "Liberty Tree" that still stands on the campus of St. Johns College, Annapolis.

On June 29 of the same year Governor Stone appointed Fuller as "commander-in-chief" of all forces under him to proceed against the Eastern Shore Indians. His part in the Battle of the Severn has been related—he was commander of the victorious Puritan forces and the resident Puritan governor of the Province. He lived upon, and later was granted, "Fullers Survey,"⁶⁹ on the north side of the Severn River—land upon which, still later, Governor Horatio Sharpe built his country seat, "Whitehall." When Clarkson wrote, "Will Fuller abides

convinced," he was speaking of the resident head of the Puritan government of Maryland. At this revelation the persecuted leaders of Quakerism in other colonies and in England must have taken on new hope.

Together with Robert Clarke, Fuller also owned land, later sold to Robert Kemp, in Talbot County,⁷⁰ as well as a plantation in Calvert County.⁷¹ It is presumed that Fuller remained a Friend because, in spite of his record as commander of the Puritan forces about the Severn before 1658, he was later fined with Thomas Homewood, a known Friend, "for their conscientious refusal to obey the order of Court made by the officer of Cecil, Lord Baltimore, respecting the Militia [and] had taken from them goods to the value of 8 pounds, 15 shillings and 6 pence." His wife Sarah was also a Friend.⁷² He left no will of record. In 1695 his son sold his father's estate "Fuller" to Colonel Nicholas Greenbury, and later it passed to Colonel Horatio Sharpe.⁷³

William Durand, an elder of the independent church of the Virginia Puritans, was expelled from the Crown Colony in 1648 because of stringent laws forcing conformity of all public religious services to the liturgy of the Established Church of England.⁷⁴ When he came to Maryland in 1649, he was one of the first Puritans to seek asylum in the land of sanctuary, and his Virginia property was confiscated.⁷⁵ With him came his wife, a daughter, Elizabeth, and four other children. Also in his party were two freemen named Pell and Archer, and Thomas Marsh, Margaret Marsh, William Warren, William Hoff and Ann Coles. In 1650 Durand, as a burgess from Anne Arundel County, signed a declaration by Governor Stone, the Council, other burgesses and a number of the "protestant inhabitants" of the Province that acknowledged complete freedom of religion in Maryland under the Toleration Act of 1649.⁷⁶

At the second seizure of the government of Maryland by Richard Bennett and William Claiborne in 1654, Durand was appointed one of the governing commissioners. He also was named secretary to the commissioners and of the Province.⁷⁷ His convincement in Quakerism must have come before the end of 1656, Elizabeth Harris having returned to England before July, 1657. Clarkson related that in the 11th month of 1657 Durand was thought to abide—"I know not but he doth likewise"—and towards the end of the letter pointed to his continuing interest in Quaker affairs—"Will Durand desired a copy of thy letter which I have drawn out for him. Also I have given him a copy of E. B.'s [Edward Burroughs] letters and severall others."⁷⁸ History does not explain Durand's absence at the transfer of authority to govern the Province to representatives of Lord Baltimore at Patuxent.⁷⁹ He died in Talbot County in 1672. The will of the

former church elder, Puritan official, secretary of the Province and convinced Quaker was dated August 21, 1672, and probated on December 6, 1672.⁸⁰ It refers to a grandson, Samuel Withers, whose father of the same name was a son-in-law of Durand and a former Puritan official who was present at the transfer at Patuxent in 1658.⁸¹ Samuel Withers, Sr., a Friend, married Elizabeth Durand and died at South River before June 2, 1671.⁸² William Durand's first wife was Alice, last name unknown, but at the time of his death in 1672, he was a widower, planning to marry Elizabeth Aylee.⁸³

Thomas and William Cole (Coale) also named in the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter, were either brothers or father and son. The record of Thomas discloses only that he had "confessed the truth" before the 11th month of 1657,⁸⁴ and that he was fined for not taking an oath after 1658,⁸⁵ and that he surveyed land on the Severn River on October 7, 1665.⁸⁶

William Coale, however, became one of the great Quaker ministers and was prominent in the planting of Quakerism in Maryland. After locating briefly in the Broad Neck Hundred, he followed in the footsteps of many early Friends and settled at West River.⁸⁷ He married first, Hester and second, Hannah, neither of whose family names have been discovered. His third wife, Elizabeth Thomas, was a daughter of Philip Thomas, Immigrant, and Sarah Harrison Thomas,⁸⁸ both of whom were Friends. In the 1660s Coale traveled to Virginia as a messenger of Truth where, with George Wilson, he was imprisoned for many months. Wilson died in chains, "the flesh having rotted from his bones," and Coale's health was so impaired he never fully recovered.⁸⁹ Earlier he had been fined for refusing to bear arms in Anne Arundel County.⁹⁰

At his plantation at West River in 1672/3, William Coale was host at a Meeting attended by George Fox and his traveling companions.⁹¹ During the same year he was present at the first General Meeting of Quakers of the Province, the occasion which saw the birth of organized Quakerism in Maryland. His early death in 1678 at West River was a great shock to his many friends throughout the Province. He left an extensive estate.⁹² Shortly after his death a series of Testimonies to him, written by some of the most prominent Friends in Maryland were gathered for publication in England in 1682.⁹³

Richard Beard, whose miraculous conviction was so vividly described by Clarkson, and who is referred to in the previously mentioned book of Testimonies to Coale, was the son-in-law of Edward Robbins of Virginia.⁹⁴ Clarkson wrote that "Richard Beard was in a miraculous way convinced the fore part of the summer by a clap of thunder he being at work in ye woods . . . desired that ye Lord would

manifest to him concerning the way which was known amongst us whether it was the true way of God or not if it might bee made known to him by thunder and at the same instant there came a clap of thunder which was very great insomuch it broak a tree [near] them and shook him . . . and himself could scarce keep from falling to ye ground and a powerfull answer came to him at the same instant . . . and forth with hee declared it abroad and was convinced."

At the time Beard was settled on South River having been one of the first to obtain a certificate of survey for land in that area. On January 6, 1650, he surveyed "Poplar Neck," comprising 200 acres situated "on the south side of South River."⁹⁵ The land was granted to him by patent in 1663.⁹⁶ Thus, he was not only one of the first Friends in Maryland, but also a founding settler of the South River Hundred. The delay in the actual grant of land to Beard was typical of the time and was caused by the seizures of the legal government in 1652 and again from 1654 to 1658, and later by the reluctance of Quakers to take oath to complete the granting procedure.

Subsequently Beard acquired large additional holdings, most of them on South River, which he combined into "Beards Habitation."⁹⁷ "Poplar Neck," his first grant, lay to the west of Londontowne, which was laid out in 1683 as a port of entry for South River and originally was a part of the property of Beard's brother-in-law, William Burgess.⁹⁸ Along with Thomas Mears, Burgess was fined in 1668 for not taking an oath.⁹⁹ In 1657 Quaker Meetings, held at Richard Beard's house on South River, were attended by prominent Anne Arundel County people and convincements were made there. William Coale spoke eloquently at some of those Meetings.¹⁰⁰ In 1674, together with Wenlock Christison, another great Quaker, and William Perrie (Berry) and John Homeard (Homewood), he presented to the General Assembly of Maryland a petition praying relief from the requirement of taking oath. They pointed out that "yea, yea and nay, nay" could be taken instead in "Jamaica, Carolina, Road Island and the new country of Jersey."¹⁰¹ While the requirement of an oath in testamentary cases had been lifted earlier, general abolishment in Maryland did not come until much later.¹⁰² Beard died in 1681 leaving a substantial estate to his wife, Rachel, and to his sons and daughters.¹⁰³ A son, Richard Beard, Jr., made the first map of Annapolis.

Walter Smith who, Clarkson said, "opposed the apearance of God in thee to thou face" was not offered any of the books sent to Maryland by Elizabeth Harris. According to the letter, they were widely distributed to "Herrin Creek, Road River, South River, all about Seavorn, Broadneck and thereabouts, Severn Mountains, and Kent."¹⁰⁴ Walter Smith cannot be identified, but there seems to be no reason to include his name among those of the first Quakers.

Mention in the Clarkson letter of Thomas Tally brings to mind "Tallys, or Tollys, Point" shown on current maps of the Chesapeake Bay between the South River and the Severn River. He was one of the first settlers in the area and, at one time, was in possession of a part of "Warner Neck" on the south side of the Severn adjoining the property of Matthew Howard.¹⁰⁵ He married the widow of Samuel Howard.¹⁰⁶ Tally was the sole beneficiary named in the will of one John Casson, dated December 23, 1679, and probated on May 12, 1680.¹⁰⁷ A few years later the family was identified with Kent County. There, in the will of Robert Chapman, dated April 3, 1685, and passed on October 11, 1685, Thomas and William, children of Walter and Elizabeth Talley, at 21 years of age were named as inheritors of 220 acres of "Hinchingham."¹⁰⁸ Several other members of the same family also were mentioned, but there is no record of the death of the Tally mentioned by Clarkson. One can only wonder about "the two books thou gavest me to be delivered to Thomas Tally, his wife and others."¹⁰⁹ Undoubtedly they were all Friends.

The letter also stated that "Will Eliott rec'd his goods thou sent him." This would seem to presume that a friendly relationship existed among Elizabeth Harris, Eliott and Clarkson. No further reference is made to Eliott's "goods," nor is there mention of his conviction. However it would seem safe to assume that he was one of the early Friends. In the county records there is an undated will, probated on September 2, 1668, of a William Ellyeot.¹¹⁰ While it fails to identify his residence, the mention of certain names, especially those of Thomas Taylor and William Foard who were witnesses, indicates a possible Quaker relationship. The name "Elliot" is included in a list of authenticated Quaker names.¹¹¹

Clarkson also mentioned Richard Owens. In Virginia, in 1649, Owens, together with Thomas Meers, Edward Lloyd, Thomas Marsh and John Norwood, was given "till October next" to conform to the established church law. With his wife, Mary, he came to Maryland in the next year and seated at South River. Both of them are numbered among Anne Arundel County's first Friends.¹¹²

Clarkson's words, "Thy husbands kindness I accept freely," express his tenderness towards William and Elizabeth Harris. This concern for his friends and neighbors and his great faith in God and His power seem almost incongruous against the background of the recent civil strife and of the primitive conditions in the almost virgin territory of Anne Arundel County. Notwithstanding the hard physical labor involved in building houses, tobacco barns and outbuildings, these people took the time to travel miles about the country—by boat, on horseback, or on foot—to help each other better understand the Quaker

way of life as it was then pronounced. And all of these events occurred within eight years of the first settling of the county and only five years after the creative moment of the new movement.

In summary, the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter lists about twenty names of the early settlers of Anne Arundel County and indicates that seventeen or eighteen of them became convinced Quakers. Of the first eight commissioners for the county, Clarkson listed only one, Henry Catlyn, who was convinced. However, some members of the family of James Homewood were Quakers,¹¹³ Thomas Mears became a Friend,¹¹⁴ and Matthew Hawkins was soon to become a Quaker.¹¹⁵ Thomas Marsh undoubtedly was a Friend, for his daughter, Sarah, became a Minister of the Faith according to the 1672 will of Dr. Peter Sharpe.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the executors of Marsh's estate, William Berry and Thomas Taylor, were prominent Quakers.

Thus five of the first commissioners appointed by Governor Stone for Lord Baltimore to serve in the county either became Friends or had close Quaker connections. It has previously been pointed out that Captain William Fuller and William Durand of the resident Puritan commissioners, as well as Richard Preston and Richard Owens were Friends. When the names of Philip Thomas and Samuel Withers, Sr., who were later Puritan commissioners, are added to the list, it becomes clear that of Lord Baltimore's governing officials of the county between 1650 and 1654 and the Puritan representatives who controlled most of the Province from 1654 to 1658, a total of eleven became Friends. Other convincements known to have been made before 1658 included Ann and Edward Dorsey, Nicholas Wyatt, John Baldwin, Richard Beard, Henry Woolchurch, Thomas Tally, Thomas Hooker and William and Thomas Coale. All were founding settlers and leading citizens of the county, and some were of armorial families. The list constitutes a high tribute to the labors of Elizabeth Harris, Maryland's first Publisher of Truth.

There were probably a number of other convincements made before 1658 that have not yet been proved. For example, John and Thomas Hammond were fined in 1662 for "delinquency in the military defense of the Province," reflecting a Quaker relationship that may have begun well before that time.¹¹⁷ They were among the first of that distinguished family to come to Maryland. Stopping first in the area north of the Severn, the family soon became better known in the Middle Neck Hundred when Thomas Hammond was, in 1665, granted "Mountain Neck," the present site of the U. S. N. A. Dairy Farm. Such changes or shifts were common after 1658 so that the locations of early Friends in the Broad Neck Hundred as shown on the end paper map are only tentative.

TREATMENT OF QUAKER MESSENGERS IN MARYLAND

Following the first Publishers of Truth, other dedicated persons came to Anne Arundel County to spread the seeds of Quakerism. Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston, the "two messengers" referred to in the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter, were the next to enter the Province—"The two messengers which thou spokest of in thy letters is nott yet come to this place. Wee heard of two to come to Virginia in the forepart of the winter that they were soon putt in prisson. . . . Wee have heard that they are to be kept in prisson till the ship that brought them be ready to depart the country againe."¹

As has been mentioned previously, Thurston came to Boston with the second group of Quakers in the fall of 1656, but met the same fate as Mary Fisher and Ann Austin and was deported.² By way of Virginia he returned to that city and was imprisoned with Josiah Coale. Together they journeyed to Maryland in 1658, although one historian puts their arrival later.³ They were joined by Thomas Chapman, another Friend, and after laboring in the Province for some time, returned on foot to New England. The long overland journey was undertaken because of a Massachusetts law that made ship captains liable to heavy fines for transporting Quakers into that Puritan Colony.⁴

With the appearance of Thomas Thurston and Josiah Coale in Maryland the first mention of the word "Quakers" occurs in the records of the Council, and there followed an apparent attempt to restrict the activities of Friends in the Province.

Before going into the action taken against certain Friends by the Maryland authorities, however, it may be well to review briefly the condition of the new movement at the beginning of the Restoration. From the time of Elizabeth Harris's first convincements in 1656, and possibly somewhat earlier, until the return of the government to the representatives of Lord Baltimore in 1658, Maryland Friends enjoyed complete freedom to follow their religious way of life. This represented an unique period in the history of Quakerism. Yet the entire movement was still in a formative state. In England hundreds of Friends were in prison. The leaders were scattered and cohesive impetus was lacking. In fact, for about fifteen years after its creative moment Quakerism had no real coordination or authority of discipline. With only the basic tenet of guidance by the Inward Light, individual

Friends often tended to express themselves and their beliefs in different, and sometimes astonishing, ways. In their zeal to plant the new movement, the actions of some tended to cast disfavor on the whole effort.⁵ George Fox and some of the older Friends realized that fact, but were powerless to correct it because, more often than not, most of the leaders were in prison or under severe persecution. It was not until after Meetings for Discipline, which Fox called Men's and Women's Monthly and Quarterly Meetings to Admonish,⁶ had been instituted, following his release from prison in 1666, that Quakerism began to function according to the principles thought best by a majority of the flock. It is of little wonder, therefore, that some of the early messengers, having suffered long imprisonments, whippings and persecution, were almost fanatical in the presentation of the new religious way of life, or that they differed widely in its interpretation. The stories of Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston present a case in point.

Josiah Cole, or Coale, was convinced by John Audland and John Camm, two of the greatest Quakers, at Bristol, England, in 1654.⁷ Later in the same year, when Coale was committed to Newgate Prison for being a Friend, he would not remove his hat before the justices.⁸ After a brief visit to America, he sent the first known Epistle, dated the 7th day of the 5th month, 1664, to Friends in Maryland. This further substantiates the existence of settled Quaker Meetings in Maryland before that date and probably as early as his first visits to Anne Arundel County in 1658 and in 1660. Robert Clarkson, it will be remembered, spoke of both public and private Meetings in his letter of 1657. Coale sent a second Epistle, dated the 7th month, 29th day, 1665, and written while he was in jail in the village of Kendal, England.⁹ He was a friend of George Fox and endeavored to visit him when the latter was imprisoned in 1666.¹⁰ On December 2, 1666, Coale petitioned King Charles II as follows:

King Charles—Let the people of God at liberty, who suffer imprisonments for the exercise of their conscience towards him and give liberty of conscience to them to worship and serve him as he requireth and leadeth them by his spirit; or else his judgments shall not depart from thy kingdom until thereby he hath wrought the liberty of his people and removed their oppressions. And remember thou are once more warned. By a servant of the Lord, Josiah Coale.¹¹

In 1668, following a visit from Fox, Coale died.¹²

We have seen that in Virginia, Coale and Thurston had been jailed under the 1643 "acts for the banishment of non-conformists,"¹³ and that the law of Massachusetts provided that Quakers be "whipped from constable to constable" when being driven from that colony.

Some historians have stated that, beginning in 1658, Maryland moved toward similar persecution, but the restrictive edicts here closely followed the Puritan-controlled government and were acts of the Council rather than laws passed by the Assembly. At the time the Council was made up of Governor Josias Fendall, soon to be removed from office by Lord Baltimore; Edward Lloyd, a former Virginia Puritan who also had served in the late Puritan government; Colonel Nathaniel Utie, formerly of Virginia; Robert Clark, a former Puritan official; and young Philip Calvert, secretary of state.¹⁴ At a Council meeting held at Patuxent on July 8, 1658, the increase of Quakers in the Province was noted, and this is believed to be the first mention of that name in official Maryland records.

Action was taken swiftly. On July 23, 1658, at a meeting held at Anne Arundel, the Council issued the following order:

Whereas it is well known in this Province that there have of late bin several vagabonds and idle persons knowne by the name of Quakers that have presumed to come into this Province as well as diswading people from complying with the Military discipline in this time of danger as also from giving testimony or being jurors [taking oath]—doe hereby—require and command all and every the justices of Peace of the Province that as soon as they shall have notice that any of the said vagabonds or idle persons shall again presume to come into this Province they forthwith cause them to be apprehended and whipped from constable to constable until they shall be sent out of the Province.¹⁵

Soon after, the Council issued a warrant for the apprehension of Thomas Thurston and Josiah Coale as follows:

At a Council held at Patuxent, 25 July, 1658, present the Governor [Fendall] and the Secretary [Philip Calvert]. According to a warrant bearing date 22nd instant Thomas Thurston was brought before the Governor and the said Thurston being desirous to depart from the Province, the Governor ordered the following warrant to be drawne—Whereas Thomas Thurston by himself and friends hath desired me that he may passe up to Annarundell from whence he hath engaged himself to depart this Province by Monday next being the second day of August, until departing out of this Province:—Josiah Coale is to remain as by order of the Court provided. These art therefore in the Lord Proprietary's name to will and require you not to molest the said Thomas Thurston during the time limited for his stay and so soone as he shall signify to you his intention to depart that you sett at liberty the said Josiah Coale. Provided that if they or either of them shall be found within this Province after the aforesaid second day of August (unlesse made unable to depart by sickness) they or either of them be apprehended and proceeded against according to lawe in their case provided. Given under my hand at Patuxent this 25th day of July 1659.

Josias Fendall.¹⁶

Study of the Council order of July 23rd, makes it easy to reach the conclusion that Maryland Quakers were to be persecuted. But consideration of the writ of July 25th against the background of the times makes it unlikely that such action occurred. Friends were to be sent out of Maryland by order of a governor who was soon to be replaced and who had failed to project into the Province the mild and tolerant philosophy of Lord Baltimore. Thus, while it is correct to assume that Maryland Quakers were fined for not taking oaths and refusing to serve in the militia, there is no evidence of whippings, or other bodily punishment, having been imposed. In the warrant of July 25th there is even a note of compassion in the clause "unless made unable to depart by sickness." Compared with the treatment of Quakers in England, New England, and even Virginia, nothing in the Maryland records justifies the use of the word "persecution." A thorough examination of the records of the Court of Talbot County and an equally careful search of the minutes of the Meetings of Friends at Third Haven, the parent meeting of the Eastern Shore, reveals not a single instance of personal violence inflicted upon a Quaker because of his religion.¹⁷ These records date back to 1662. The same is true of the records of the West River Meeting, the parent Meeting of the Western Shore.

Following the issuing of the Council order, Thurston and Coale left the Province. They soon returned, however, and Thurston acquired land in the Broad Neck Hundred and also in Baltimore County and on the Eastern Shore.¹⁸ His daughter, Elizabeth, by his first wife, married George Skipwith, a prominent Friend of the West River and Herring Creek Meetings.¹⁹ After the death of Skipwith in 1684, Elizabeth Thurston, his widow, married William Coale, Jr.,²⁰ son of the Quaker minister.

An account of a House Meeting in the Broad Neck Hundred of Anne Arundel County has been recorded as follows:

One day in February 1664 a little group of Quakers sat in J. Homewood's house on Homewood [now Ridout] Creek—Johns wife Sarah was there so was Thomas Turner, Maurice Baker and John Arnold from nearby plantations and Thomas Mears and Sarah Marsh widow of Thomas Marsh killed in the battle of the Severn. There were two other interesting people, Thomas Thurston Quaker leader who had been bannished from the Province Aug. 3rd 1659. Then there was Sarah the wife of Capt. William Fuller. At the meeting Sarah Fuller was quoted as saying, "I am sure my husband will come back home again and enjoy his wife and family."²¹

The meeting referred to was not only the first recorded in that area of the county, but the first in which all Friends in attendance were named.

Although Thurston may have called himself a Quaker, firm evidence exists that after 1666 he did not conform to Quakerism as it was then organized. Writing in 1691 of his travels in Maryland in 1665, John Burnyeat, a great Quaker who will be discussed later, said: "But afore exercise I had with one Thomas Thurston and a party he drew after him for a while; for that both I and faithful Friends were greatly grieved not only with his wickedness, but also the opposition which [he] made against us and the disturbance he brought upon us in our Meeting."²² George Fox also commented unfavorably upon Thurston's conduct in 1673,²³ and other evidence suggests that he was later disowned by Maryland Friends. He died in Baltimore County in 1693, a landed planter.²⁴

Josiah Coale fared better than his fellow Quaker and certainly made many convincements. After having been asked to leave Maryland in 1658, he returned in 1660. He left the Province again about four months later, but the reason for his going is not known. The first time he was in Maryland he became involved with Richard Preston of Patuxent in the famous Lumbrozo case which occurred while the Puritans were still in control of the Province.²⁵ Lumbrozo was a Jew whom Coale charged with "uttering words of blasphemy against our Blessed Savior Jesus Christ," an offense punishable by death. Before the trial was held, however, Lord Baltimore's government was restored to power, and it granted the Jew full rights of citizenship. Under the Calvert regime, a few years later, Lumbrozo served the Province as a juror.²⁶ In contrast, at about that time, Rhode Island, often held as a model of religious toleration, passed a law excluding Jews and Catholics from the rights of citizenship. The Supreme Court of that colony, in denying a petition of two Jews in 1762, stated that to admit them to citizenship was "wholly inconsistent with the first principles upon which the Colony was founded."²⁷

Soon after Coale's death in 1668, *The Books and divers Epistles of that faithful servat of God, Josiah Coale* was published.²⁸ The work contained the "First Epistle to Friends in Maryland," dated 1664, and a second epistle, dated 1665.

No real evidence exists with which to evaluate the constructive labors of Thurston and Coale in Maryland. That the former was an extremely controversial figure is evident from the remarks of both Burnyeat and Fox. On the other hand, Coale, with his background of conformity to the views of the leaders of Quakerism, is known to have made a substantial number of convincements.

Little can be said about Thomas Chapman, who came into Maryland on the 2nd day of the 6th month, 1658, and later traveled with Thurston and Coale "several hundred miles on foot through vast

wildernesses and woods" to New England "which made the persecutors there astonished."²⁹ No evidence exists of convincements made by Chapman during his stay in Maryland. A record of his death does not appear in Anne Arundel County records. However, a family of that name is known to have been seated on South River during the latter part of the Seventeenth Century.³⁰ Yet, it has been said that the three—Thurston, Coale and Chapman—all were "very successful in their spreading of the Quaker message" in Maryland.³¹

Following these messengers came George Rofe, a Quaker minister who reported that many settled Meetings existed in Maryland.³² In 1661 he had been instrumental in setting up a General Meeting for Friends in Rhode Island,³³ which, as the New England Meeting, now is considered to be the oldest Yearly Meeting of Friends in the world. It will be noted, however, that in 1661 Quakerism, even in England, had not adopted uniform codes of conduct and Meetings for Discipline, which served as its foundation as an organized religious movement. Not until after 1666 did George Fox and his leading ministers issue uniform directives in the matter of discipline.³⁴

On a second visit to Maryland in 1663 Rofe, a courageous Friend, lost his life while crossing the Chesapeake Bay in a violent storm.³⁵ The settled Meetings referred to by him must have been at West River, Herring Creek, The Cliffs and Patuxent on the Western Shore. The formation of all of these before 1671 can now be documented.³⁶ There were also Meetings at Betty's Cove and other places on the Eastern Shore,³⁷ all of which were given impetus by Quakers who came into Maryland from Virginia in the 1660s.³⁸ Some of these helped to form the basis of the Third Haven Quaker Meeting at Easton, still in existence.

In 1659 three more Quaker messengers, of whom we have previously heard, came to Maryland—Christopher Holder, Robert Hodgson and William Robinson. According to one historian, they made many convincements.³⁹ It was just prior to their visit that the Council Order of July 23, 1658, was issued, but there is nothing to indicate that their religious activities were hampered. These three men were to be brutally treated on Long Island and in New England, and Robinson finally was hanged in Boston.⁴⁰

Until 1665 Maryland seemed to treat the new movement as being more political than religious in nature.⁴¹ Beginning in 1656 all of the known Quaker messengers who entered the Province labored without the directives, or Epistles, issued by George Fox and other leaders. Each probably presented the theory of Quakerism as he or she saw it, and the result was many misunderstandings similar to those which prevailed in England.

Much of that misunderstanding was eliminated by John Burnyeat, co-worker of George Fox, a great organizer and Publisher of Truth, who came to the Province in 1665. He shipped from Galloway, Ireland, in the 7th month, 1664, and landed in Maryland at the end of the 2nd month, 1665.⁴² After laboring on both shores of the Chesapeake, he journeyed to Virginia and returned to Maryland early in 1666. All available evidence indicates that while in Maryland he labored in complete freedom with no governmental restriction.

The good relationship engendered during Burnyeat's stay brought about significant changes—a realization of the true spirit of Quakerism, better co-ordination between the established Meetings, and better understanding by the government of the entire movement. Returning to England for a short visit, he consulted with George Fox and co-operated with him in solidifying the Quaker movement through the establishment of Men's and Women's Monthly and Quarterly Meetings and the adoption of uniform rules and directives.⁴³ These accomplishments marked the first great step in the development of Quakerism. The will of the individual was to be submissive to the will of the flock.

Then Burnyeat returned to America. With Fox and several other Friends, he took shipping for the New World on the 13th day of the 7th month, 1671.⁴⁴ Most of the party stopped for some months in the Barbadoes. Burnyeat, however, went on to the mainland and, after attending the Yearly Meeting of Friends in New England, traveled southward to Virginia and back to Maryland. In April, 1672, "being desirous of seeing once again as many of his friends in Maryland as possible," he called a General Meeting for all Friends in the Province "that I might see them together before I departed for I was determined to go as soon as I could after that meeting."⁴⁵

Thus, between 1665 and the spring of 1672, John Burnyeat brought the settled Meetings of both shores of the Chesapeake into close co-operation, and he appears, from a statement in his *Journal*, to have been conscious of his accomplishments. His call resulted in the first General Meeting for all Friends in the Province in Maryland, held in the latter part of April, 1672, at West River.⁴⁶

EARLY QUAKER LANDHOLDERS AND THEIR TESTIMONIES TO WILLIAM COALE

We have seen that some of the most powerful leaders of Puritan Maryland confessed the Truth in 1656 and 1657, and that other leading citizens soon became Friends. Clarkson, in his letter to Elizabeth Harris, stated that Thomas and William Cole (Coale) had confessed the Truth before the 11th month of 1657. William Coale attended the first General Meeting of Quakers at West River in the 2nd month of 1672, and later was host at a Meeting at his home plantation of "Great Bonnerston" at West River, which had been given him by William Richardson.¹ George Fox and his traveling companions attended this Meeting while on their second journey through Anne Arundel County in 1672.²

The labors of William Coale, the great Quaker minister, can best be described through a series of Testimonies to him written after his death in the 8th month, 1678,³ by his friends and co-workers, all of whom were among the first and ablest Friends in Maryland. Published in book form by Andrew Sowle, at the Crooked Billet in Holloway Lane near Shoreditch, London, in 1682, the statements are titled *A Testimony Concerning our Dear and Well Beloved Friend and Brother in the Truth, William Coale.*⁴

In the first statement, signed by William Richardson, Sr., John Gary, George Skipwith, Richard Hall and Abram Birkhead, "by the consent of the General Half-Year Meeting at West River, Maryland, the 29th day of the 3rd month, 1680," the following was recorded:

And soon after his [Coale's] conviction which was about the year 1657 he came forth with a living testimony for the Lord and his blessed truth and travelled abroad amongst Friends and People both in Maryland and Virginia and several were convinced by him and to our own knowledge was a man well beloved amongst many and travelled in Unity with the faithful who knew him to be a minister of Christ and for the Testimony suffered long imprisonment with dear George Wilson who faithfully finished his testimony in James-Town prison in Virginia in chains and many precious writings were joyntly in good Unity given forth in the time when one dyed [Wilson] and the others body much decayed, which was never recovered again.⁵

The passage is important because attempts have been made to ignore the harsh and, at times, inhuman treatment of Quakers in

Virginia. It has been stated that "no Quaker was ever put to death on account of his faith,"⁶ yet a Friend historian has recorded that Wilson and Coale were held in "a nasty stinking dungeon" at Jamestown, and that the former was whipped and heavily chained so that "his flesh rotted from his bones and he died."⁷ This Testimony to Coale, dated 1680, and signed by five representative Maryland Friends of the period, substantiates the treatment of Wilson and Coale by the Virginia authorities.⁸

William Richardson was the first signer of this Testimony. Prior to 1680 he acquired a tract of land in the West River Hundred named "Watkins Hope."⁹ A part of this land is now known as "Woodstock" and is located between Owensville and the Old Quaker Burying Ground. An historic roadside marker, indicating the general location of his house, calls attention to a visit by William Penn to Richardson in 1682, after the memorable conference between the former and Charles, Third Lord Baltimore, "at the house of Col. Thomas Tailler,"¹⁰ where the two had discussed the boundaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania.¹¹ Colonel Taillor's home was only a few miles away, just below South River. The tract now known as "Etowah Farm," on State Route 2, includes a part of the Taillor plantation. From Richardson's house Penn traveled a short distance to attend a Meeting at the house of Thomas Hooker, Sr., near West River Landing, and from there he embarked for the Eastern Shore.¹² Quaker Meetings were held at the house of William Richardson, who was a Quaker minister, until his death in 1697.¹³

Soon after 1663, William Richardson, Sr., married Elizabeth, widow of Richard Talbott of "Poplar Knowle," now "Tulip Hill," and daughter of Richard Ewen of nearby "Ewen Upon Ewenton," today known as "Cedar Park."¹⁴ He was fined for not taking an oath on November 10, 1662,¹⁵ but later held an important position in Lord Baltimore's government, serving as a member of the Lower House of the General Assembly in 1678.¹⁶ In 1683, at a meeting of the General Assembly at John Larkin's house, now "Larkins Hills," in the area called The Ridge,¹⁷ Richardson argued in favor of making West River Landing a port of entry for that area,¹⁸ a development not accomplished until the next year.¹⁹ Richardson was appointed as one of the commissioners to survey and manage the building of a courthouse at Londontowne on South River,²⁰ another instance of a Quaker holding a position in the Maryland government. He died in 1698, and his will, dated December 21, 1691, was probated on April 2, 1698.²¹ He left a substantial estate of which his wife, Elizabeth, was given the home plantation "Watkins Hope," and he remembered his beloved Quaker Church. The following letter written by him to George Fox sheds

new light on the relationship between Maryland Friends and Charles, Third Lord Baltimore:

West River, in Maryland
Ye 4th of ye 2nd mo 1681

Dear George:—

This day thy loving letter dated in ye 8th mo 1680 came to my hand and ye lord only knows how glad I was of it. because I much longed to heard from thee and truly dear George my very heart leaps for joy not withstanding some friend dealt unhandsomly by us and had opened it and sealed it againe with wax upon ye wafer seal and indeed Dear George I think it to be one between West River and Patuxon and it was not well done [several words illegible] as they should be done by; And now Dear Heart as concerning our yea and nay we have not had an Assembly here neare this 3 years but still prorogued from time to time but in ye 8th month next we are to have one for certaine and friends are appointed on both sides of the Bay to attend for ye very same purpose and also we shall have many friends in the lower house Assembly men and wee have been with Baltimore and have gott a few lines from under his hand for his assent, and he will show us all ye kindness that lays in his power and it is very kind and loving to us and I had a very loving letter from him when he was in England concerning our Yea and Nay wherein he promised very fare. Dear George we intend to give ye a full Acct. of all our public and private affairs as near as we can my endeared love and life Dearly Salutt thee and thy dear wife and my Wifes very Dear love is remembered to thee and thine are Dear George this going wt I find needfull to acquaint ye wt all at present and in true love remayne

Thy truly Loving Friend

William Richardson

(illegible) this further, ye last Assembly we could not get anything done for us, yet in ye lower house we had severall members besides our friends who would have done for us if they could, but being troublesome times wt Judiatte (?) we had enough to doe to save our friends from being (illegible) in the warr and Military laws to be kept under and Dear George it might not be a miss if thou please to put William Penn upon writing a few lines to Baltimore for I have had much discourse wt him att times and he always speake well of Wm but as for his principle it will be hard moveing it and ye rest I shall leave to thy freedome and wisdom and Remayne

Thy True Friend

W. R.²²

John Gary, sometimes spelled Garey or Gearie, was the second signer of the Testimony to Coale. He settled in Calvert County and was a member of The Cliffs Meeting. During his second trip through

Anne Arundel and Calvert counties, Fox recorded in his *Journal*: "travelled 18 miles from the Patuxent Meeting to John Gearies" and later "afterwards to John Gearies to await boat to the Monthly meeting at the Cliffs."²³ Gary died in 1681, about a year after attending the General Half-Year Meeting at West River on the 29th day of the 3rd month, 1680, and perhaps only shortly after signing the Testimony to Coale. His will dated September 12, 1681, was probated in October of that year.²⁴

In the Quaker movement John Gary was ably supported by his wife, Alice, a minister of that faith,²⁵ who survived him. Evidence exists that her maiden name was Alice Ambrose, and that, along with Mary Tomkins, she visited Boston in 1662 and again in 1664, to help plant the new movement in New England.²⁶ On their 1662 visit to Dover, Massachusetts, Alice Ambrose and Mary Tomkins, together with Anne Coleman, were arrested and sentenced "to very cruel whipping only for having come there."²⁷ They were held under the following warrant, dated December 22, 1662, which was put into execution:

You and every of you are required in the King's Majesty's name to take those vagabond Quakers, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose and make them fast to a carts tail and driving the cart through your several towns to whip them upon their naked backs not exceeding ten stripes apiece on each of them, in each town; and so to convey them from constable to constable till they are out of this jurisdiction as you will answer it at your peril; and this shall be your warrant.²⁸

After being whipped through two or three towns they were released. Notwithstanding the brutal treatment they had received, they returned to Boston from Virginia in 1664.²⁹ In that colony, simply because they were Quakers, they had been "pilloried and brutally whipped. Each received some 32 stripes with a cord whip—3 knotts to each cord—and blood ran down from their breasts."³⁰ On June 30, 1664, the great Quaker, Wenlock Christison, traveled to Boston to meet the two messengers,³¹ disregarding a previous 1661 death sentence still standing against him.³²

By 1671 Christison and Alice Ambrose, or Alice Gary, were in Maryland, the former having sought haven in Talbot County at "End of Controversie"³³ and the latter at The Cliffs in Calvert County. Both were named in the will of Dr. Peter Sharpe of Calvert County, probated on March 28, 1672.³⁴

George Skipwith was another of the five signers of the first Testimony to Coale. He was the grantee of "Skipwith's Addition" in the West River Hundred, where he lived until 1682, or about the time

that the Testimonies were published.³⁵ "Skipwith's Addition" lay between "Poplar Knowle" and "Ewen Upon Ewenton" overlooking West River.

Prior to 1684 George Skipwith and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Thurston, moved to "Silverstone," a plantation in the Herring Creek Hundred at Fishing Creek overlooking Herring Bay, originally granted to Anthony Sallaway.³⁶ Writing to his friend, George Fox, in 1681 Skipwith said: "Dear George: My confirmed love is to thee. Wee are opposed on this side of the Bay with deceitfully false bretheren (illegible) my kind love is to thy wife (illegible) my love to James Lanchastor and Robert Withers, Just Yours, Geo. Skipwith."³⁷ He died at Silverstone in 1684, remembering the Quakers in his will.³⁸

Skipwith's widow married William Coale, Jr., son of the Friend for whom the Testimony was given and who had inherited from his father the plantation "Great Bonnerston."³⁹ Following the death of William Coale, Jr.,⁴⁰ in 1700, she married Samuel Chew, eldest son of Samuel and Anne Ayres Chew of Herring Creek on January 29, 1704.⁴¹ Chew had first married Anne (last name unknown) who died on April 8, 1702.⁴² His second wife, Elizabeth Thurston Skipwith Coale Chew, died on February 27, 1709/10, and Chew died on October 10, 1718.⁴³

Richard Hall, or Halls as the name appears in the Testimony, was the fourth signer. He was a son of John Hall who came into Maryland in 1640⁴⁴ and later settled at Herring Creek. John Hall was granted "Marshs Seat" which had originally been surveyed in 1650⁴⁵ for Thomas Marsh, a Puritan leader. He was the founder of the first Hall family in that part of Maryland. In 1759 "Marshs Seat" was the birthplace of the Reverend Mason Locke ("Parson") Weems, the first biographer of George Washington. The family of John Hall should not be confused with the later family founded by Reverend Henry Hall, identified with St. James Protestant Episcopal Church of Herring Creek. At his death in 1688, Richard Hall left approximately 2,500 acres of land to his wife and eight children.⁴⁶

Abraham Birkhead, the last signer of the first Testimony, was a member of the Herring Creek Meeting. His brother was Christopher Birkhead, who had been imprisoned in England in 1654.⁴⁷ An early Quaker and a co-worker of George Fox, Christopher also had been imprisoned in Rochelle, France, in 1657.⁴⁸ It is not known whether the brothers came to Maryland together, but the inference is that Christopher may have come earlier, for in 1661 he obtained a certificate of survey for "Birkheads Parcell," about 600 acres of land in the Herring Creek Hundred,⁴⁹ whereas Abraham did not survey "Birk-

heads Chance" until November 7, 1665.⁵⁰ George Fox and his party of Friends attended a Meeting "at Abraham Birkhead's" late in 1672 on his second trip through Anne Arundel County.⁵¹ The Meeting was held in the owner's tobacco barn. He died in 1685.⁵² His wife, Anne who survived him, also signed a Testimony to William Coale, dated "Herring Creek in Maryland the 8th of the 1st month 1680."

Another Testimony in the pamphlet was written by Samuel Galloway. He identified William Coale as his "dear and well beloved father-in-law," a statement that sheds light on a hitherto blank spot in the Galloway genealogy. Samuel Galloway I was the son of the Immigrant, Richard Galloway and his wife, Hannah, who had come into the Province in 1649,⁵³ and who founded the family in Maryland. Samuel Galloway I was born on October 7, 1659.⁵⁴ According to available information, he married Sarah, who died on February 25, 1685.⁵⁵ Yet the statement quoted above, probably in 1679 and certainly before 1682 when the pamphlet was published, names William Coale as his father-in-law. William Coale, Sr., however, did not mention a daughter "Sarah" in his will drawn in 1678.⁵⁶ He did speak of a daughter, Elizabeth, who on October 26, 1678, was under sixteen years of age. It is possible that it was she who became the wife of Samuel Galloway I about 1680, since marriage at an early age was common during that period.

Richard Galloway the Immigrant had two sons—Samuel, who signed the Testimony and the younger, Richard.⁵⁷ In the latter's declaration of rights in 1659 he claimed "two hundred acres of land assigned to him by Collonell Due (Drew) for transporting himself, the said Galloway, and William Rogers into the Province in 1649—likewise the said Richard Galloway hath made right appear unto fifty acres of land more for transporting one servant since into this Province, name Andrew Brough."⁵⁸ However, a certificate of survey for "Galloways," containing 250 acres, was not obtained until 1663.⁵⁹ It is clear from the declaration of rights that he had not married before 1649 or, at least, had not brought a wife into the Province when he came in that year. The fact that the land was assigned by Colonel Drew,⁶⁰ one of the leading Virginia Puritans, indicates that Richard Galloway came to Maryland by way of the Virginia Colony. He did not complete the transaction of obtaining a patent upon his 250 acres of land at West River near the plantations of William Coale, William Richardson and Thomas Hooker. After his death, which occurred about 1675, his two sons made a re-survey of "Galloways," each claiming one-half or 125 acres.⁶¹ Samuel called his plantation "The Gift," and Richard named his tract "The Favor." Again there was a long delay before they obtained the actual patents in 1685.⁶² The delays by Richard

Galloway the Immigrant, who never obtained a patent, and the sons who finally secured grants of land, were probably due to their reluctance to take the oath as required under the Plantation Acts,⁶³ which allotted land to new settlers.

Descendants of Samuel I came to be identified with the Galloway families associated with "Cumberstone" ("Sudley"); "Watkins Inheritance" ("Ivy Neck"); "Whites Hall," birthplace of Johns Hopkins II; "Whites Plains" ("Hawthorne Ridge"); and "Poplar Knowle" ("Tulip Hill"). From Richard Galloway II descended the Galloway families of "West River Farm" ("Cedar Park") and "Arden."

Samuel Galloway I, a merchant and planter, who lived at "The Gift,"⁶⁴ was active in the West River Meeting and in Quakerism generally. As George Fox recorded in his *Journal*, many of the early Quaker Meetings were held in the homes of Friends.⁶⁵ The minutes of the West River Meeting reveal several gatherings at "Samuel Galloways."⁶⁶ His second wife, Anne Webb, daughter of Borrington Webb of London,⁶⁷ was a Quaker minister,⁶⁸ who, even today, is affectionately referred to by her descendants as "Mistress Anne."

Samuel Galloway I died in London, in 1719, and was buried in the Friends Burying Ground, Bunfields.⁶⁹ Anne Galloway died at West River on March 20, 1723⁷⁰ and was probably buried at the Old Quaker Burying Ground, West River. Samuel left a great estate to his wife and nine children.⁷¹ In his zeal to follow the Quaker way of life he had not lacked business astuteness. Some idea of his enormous holdings may be gained from the following bequests: land in Calvert County where his eldest son, Samuel was then seated;⁷² "Dort" on West River, now known as "Belle Grove," across Deep Creek from Galesville; part of "Brownton," land on which Galesville now stands; his dwelling plantation "The Gift," a part of "Galloways," previously mentioned; "Bonnerston," formerly the plantation of William Coale, Sr., for whom the Testimony was written; "Cumberstone," now "Sudley"; 291 acres of "Obligation" which he bought of Thomas Stockett; and a part of "Whites Hall," later the birthplace of Johns Hopkins II. In addition, he left various bequests in money and personal property. Some confusion among genealogists has resulted from the fact that Samuel Galloway, Jr., removed to Calvert County before his father's death, and when the son died, in 1723,⁷³ he left eight children whose names were almost identical with those of his sisters and brothers.

Mistress Anne Webb Galloway whose will was probated on May 2, 1723,⁷⁴ did not leave a large estate so far as land was concerned, most of her property consisting of furnishings and personal possessions. Her will, however, is one of the most interesting of the early Quaker documents, reflecting not only a true Christian philosophy, but a clear demonstration of love and affection among the founding Friends.

In 1756 Samuel Galloway III built the great mansion, "Tulip Hill," on land then called "Poplar Knowle," which he purchased late in 1755 from the Talbott family of West River.⁷⁵

Edward Talbott, another Quaker stalwart, also wrote a Testimony to William Coale. The son of Richard and Elizabeth Ewen Talbott of "Poplar Knowle," Edward inherited "Talbotts Ridge" from his father at the latter's death about 1663,⁷⁶ and later came into possession of "Poplar Knowle." Members of the Talbott family were not only among the founders of the West River Hundred, but also were represented in the establishment of the West River Quaker Meeting. Edward Talbott, always active in Quaker affairs, married Elizabeth, a daughter of William Richardson.⁷⁷ His mother, Elizabeth Ewen Talbott, widow of Richard Talbott, had married William Richardson soon after 1663.⁷⁸

On March 29, 1689, from The Cliffs district of the West River Meeting, Edward Talbott signed a declaration which stamped him as a man of great courage and fairness—of courage because to speak out in those times in opposition to the rebellious, so-called Protestant, forces of Josias Fendall and John Coode might have meant persecution or retaliation; and of fairness because he frankly stated his judgment of conditions as he knew them to be. In the statement he was joined by several other fearless Quakers:

These are to certify all persons what so ever that the late fears and disturbances raised concerning nine thousand Indians, French and Papists landed at the mouth of the Patuxent is utterly false. Signed—

Richard Johns
Geo. Lingan
Mord. Moore
Edward Talbott

George Royston
Francis Freeman
Francis Malden⁷⁹

Only a short time later Richard Johns, an outstanding Quaker leader and the founder of the Johns family in Maryland, wrote to Samuel Groom of London and added a postscript to his letter stating that "Pore Edward Talbott is dead."⁸⁰

In still another Testimony to Coale, Anne Chew, writing from Herring Creek on the 7th day of the 12th month, 1679, said: "This testimony is true and I have known him [Coale] long and I never knew him in a more living cheerful sense to God, than at that hour of his departure; yet always a man of honest and good Report." Anne Chew was a Quaker minister, and many Meetings were held at her house at Herring Bay. The only daughter of William Ayres of Nansemond County, Virginia, she married Samuel Chew of Herrington about 1658. Chew died on March 15, 1676/77, and his wife passed away almost

twenty years later on April 13, 1695.⁸¹ In 1681 she traveled with a party of Quaker messengers, which included Friends from both shores of the Chesapeake, into Delaware.⁸²

The home of Samuel and Anne Ayres Chew stood on a hill, or ridge, overlooking Herring Bay. Silhouetted against the sky line, it was used by mariners as a bearing point in following the channel into Herring Creek harbor. On the Hoxton Map of 1732 it is designated as "Mr. Samuel Chew's house,"⁸³ being owned and occupied, at that time, by Samuel Chew, Sr., grandson of Samuel and Anne Ayres and eldest son of Samuel and Anne (?) Chew.⁸⁴ The house was built on a founding grant in the Herring Creek Hundred called "Ayres," which was surveyed on October 29, 1651, for William Ayres for 600 acres. In 1658 it was granted to Anne Ayres Chew, his daughter.⁸⁵

At his death in March, 1676/77, Samuel Chew willed the property to his wife, Anne, for her life and thereafter to his eldest son, Samuel.⁸⁶ While it is not certain when the house was built, it is known that it burned in 1772. Today nothing remains of it, or of another Chew house which the Hoxton Map identifies as "Samuel Chew, Jr.'s" home. This dwelling was nearer the water and about a mile from the other. *The Thomas Book* in a footnote⁸⁷ recounts the story of the saving of an old Chew Bible from the burning house by Francis Chew in 1772. Only recently a part of this Bible was found.⁸⁸ Inscribed in ink at the bottom of one of the pages are the words, "Sunday, April 12-1772, this Blessed Bible had like to been burnt in Samuel Chew Esq's house where I then lived—Francis Chew." Pinned between the pages is also the notation that "1775 November 11 being Saturday night between nine and ten o'clock my dear father Francis Chew departed this life aged 56 years and buried in our family grave yard at Herring Bay on Monday the 13 of the same instant—Richard Chew."

After the death of her husband in 1676/77, Anne Ayres Chew devoted the rest of her life to the cause of Quakerism. It is believed that her husband was convinced by George Fox, and much evidence indicates that she became a Friend at about the same time. During her twenty years of widowhood she remained true to the doctrine of the Inward Light. Her eldest son Samuel Chew II sold the land upon which the Herring Creek Meeting House was built to the "people called Quakers" in 1699.⁸⁹

The family graveyard referred to by Richard Chew in 1775 has not been found. In 1955, however, two grave markers, a headstone and a footstone, were discovered in the general area of the old Chew house. The footstone was firmly in place, but the large headstone lay on the ground. The marking on the headstone reads, "Here lieth ye body of Abraham Naylor who died ye 8th day of May 1683." On the foot-

stone were only the initials "A. N." Naylor died only a year after the publication of the Testimony to William Coale and, evidently, he was buried on or near the property of Anne Chew. The main provisions of Naylor's will were as follows:

Plantation to wife Jane for life or until she remarries. If she remarries she is to receive only one third for life.

After her decease I will that my plantation and what is left should go to the poor of the quarter of Gonston in the parish of Dranfield in Darbyshire England, forever.

I give unto Thomas Dryfield, minister, four hundred pounds of tobacco in casques to be paid unto him for preaching my funeral sermon and decently burying my corpse.

And I do make, constitute and ordain my loving wife Jane Naylor my sole and whole ex'trix of this my last will and testament and also order that my corpse be pailed (fenced) in when buried and two granite stones be sent for and set up one at my head and the other at my feet with my name ingraved in them and the time of my death.⁹⁰

Strong evidence indicates that Abraham Naylor was a Friend. His reference to the poor of the "quarter of Gonston" and his designation of "Friends Samuel Chew eldest son of Anne Ayers Chew, and Nehe-myah Birkhead [as] trustees and overseers" each point in that direction. However, Thomas Dryfield, the minister mentioned in the will, cannot be identified by either Quaker or Episcopal Church historians,⁹¹ and the payment directed for a funeral sermon was customary in the Church of England at that time.⁹² It was not the practice of Quakers to mark graves with engraved stones. While Naylor cannot definitely be classed as a Friend, he was certainly a friend of Friends.

Thomas Hooker recorded still another Testimony to William Coale on the 4th day of the 1st month, 1680. In it he related the story of his own conviction. "It was at a meeting at Richard Beards which was precious unto my Soul at that day for I am a Witness for the Lord and for my Friend William Coale, that it was the Lords constraining Power that opened his Mouth that day, unto the great Refreshing of the hungry and thirsty Soul, and unto the Seed of God in me."⁹³ Hooker also recalled that he was among the faithful group of Friends who accompanied Coale to Virginia before the latter's imprisonment with George Wilson. The land used for the West River Meeting House and for the Old Quaker Burying Ground was a gift of Hooker's to "the people called Quakers" sometime before his death in 1684,⁹⁴—probably even as early as 1671 when it is known to have been the site of the aforesaid Meeting.⁹⁵

The possibility of a connection between Thomas Hooker, the

Maryland Friend, and the Reverend Thomas Hooker, Puritan clergyman and chief founder of Hartford, Connecticut, in 1635/36 has been explored without success.⁹⁶ The disagreement of the Reverend Mr. Hooker and his followers with the Massachusetts church authorities resulted in the migration of the group to a site away from the strict Puritan theocracy. Thomas Hooker of West River also was a seeker of a new religious way of life which he found in Quakerism. Thomas Hooker, Sr., author of a Testimony to William Coale, died in 1684. He truly can be classed as one of the important founders of Quakerism in Anne Arundel County and in Maryland.

Henry Wilcokes, still another signer of a Testimony to William Coale, was Henry Willcockes of Talbot County. His statement was dated the 2nd day of the 4th month, 1680, and it sheds additional light upon the activity of Maryland Friends in Virginia. Willcockes avers that he was imprisoned with Coale in Virginia "in or about the year 1670." He averred that they had been traveling together and that:

We were fellow Prisoners together in a dirty nasty Prison in Virginia for a considerable time which by him [Coale] was gladly received and cheerfully embracing what came on his outward man for the blessed Gospel's sake, often fervently, and with a good clear understanding praying for the increase of Truth and Righteousness in Virginia and that, *saith* he, our Persecutors might be forgiven.

Again, speaking of Virginia, he said "I know many with me that yet remain can say *he was to them* an able Minister of the Gospel."⁹⁷ In his *Journal* George Fox recorded attendance at a Meeting at the house of Henry Wilcockes in the fall of 1672 while traveling on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.⁹⁸ Wilcokes died, probably in Talbot County, in 1684. His will, dated November 9th of that year, was probated on April 25, 1685.⁹⁹

Thomas Taylor and his wife, Elizabeth, each endorsed a Testimony to William Coale. That of the husband is dated about the 4th month, 1680, at Tuckahoe on the Eastern Shore, while that of the wife is undated. The couple were long-time Quakers as is evidenced by the fact that in his *Journal* George Fox spoke of Thomas Taylor as one of the early English Friends.¹⁰⁰ In Maryland Taylor later married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Marsh, and then settled on the Eastern Shore,¹⁰¹ where he became the first clerk of the Third Haven Meeting.¹⁰² Nevertheless, his name and that of his wife, Elizabeth, appear several times in the early minutes of the West River Meeting. Some historians seem to have confused the Quaker Thomas Taylor of the Eastern Shore with Colonel Thomas Taillor, sometimes Taylor, of the Western Shore who was prominent in the governmental affairs of the Province. The

colonel lived at "Taylors Choice" a few miles below South River in the West River Hundred, where in 1682, he entertained Lord Baltimore and William Penn.¹⁰³ The site is now identified by a roadside historic marker. In the same year Taillor declared himself to be a member of the Church of England.¹⁰⁴ He was one of the deputy governors of the Province, and in 1691 he testified in behalf of Lord Baltimore in England.¹⁰⁵

On the other hand, Thomas Taylor, the Quaker, who, according to his Testimony, accompanied William Coale to Virginia before 1670,¹⁰⁶ died on the Eastern Shore of Maryland before March 1684/5.¹⁰⁷

During Fox's visit to Maryland in 1672/3, he referred in his *Journal* to a speaker of the assembly who was convinced. He also mentioned a Meeting at the house of Thomas Taylor on the Eastern Shore. Most historians identify the convinced speaker as Thomas Taylor, still confusing the long-time Quaker with Colonel Thomas Taillor, governmental official.¹⁰⁸ Without doubt they were different persons—one was an ardent Friend, and the other was the Honorable Thomas Taillor.¹⁰⁹

Nickalls, in the latest edition of the Fox *Journal*, identifies the convinced speaker of the assembly as Thomas Notley, but nothing in the records indicates that he was a Quaker. However, there is a strong inference that the official convinced by George Fox was Samuel Chew I of Herring Creek, who was a member of the Council and judge of the provincial court at that time.¹¹⁰ Anne Ayres Chew, his wife, was a Quaker minister.¹¹¹

Elizabeth Taylor, wife of Thomas Taylor of the Eastern Shore, and also a signer of a Testimony to William Coale, was the daughter of Thomas Marsh, one of the Puritan leaders who came to Maryland about 1649. Marsh, who surveyed land called "Marshs Seat"¹¹² at Herring Creek as early as October 24, 1651, died in Kent County in 1679.¹¹³ He and his family were Quakers, his daughter, Sarah, being particularly active in Friend affairs.¹¹⁴ The name of Elizabeth Taylor frequently appears in the minutes of both the West River and the Third Haven Meeting. In Anne Arundel County she was first listed as attending a 1679 Meeting at West River.¹¹⁵ The Taylors also were mentioned by Thomas Ellis, a Messenger of Truth, who, in writing of a recent trip to Maryland in 1685 said, "There was so much winter weather the like we hardly know, and so no seasoning weather for their tobacco (illegible) insomuch that hundreds died there in the last fall and winter (illegible) three or four doctors died on the Eastern Shore. While I was there dear Thomas Taylor and his wife, and Bryan Mede [Omealy-O'Maly] and Thomas Furebay [Frisby] and many other servicable Friends, by a violent fever."¹¹⁶

Solomon Sparrow, who signed still another Testimony to William

Coale, was a member of the West River Meeting. He lived on Road River and died in 1718. Within the year his widow married Richard Galloway II¹¹⁷ of nearby "West River Farm," now "Cedar Park." Ironically, Solomon Sparrow left ten pounds to his friend and "neighbor Richard Galloway."¹¹⁸ His brother, Thomas Sparrow, also a Friend,¹¹⁹ was the patentee of "Sparrows Rest" on Road River, one of the founding grants in the West River Hundred.¹²⁰ Most of this tract is now included in "Java" and "Contee Farm." He died in 1676,¹²¹ and his widow, the former Elizabeth Kensey, married Richards Johns, the great Quaker of The Cliffs in Calvert County, founder of the Johns family of Maryland and Delaware.¹²²

Both Elizabeth Coale, the widow of William Coale, and William, Jr., a son, endorsed a Testimony to the deceased William Coale, Sr. Elizabeth Coale was the daughter of Philip Thomas, Immigrant, and Sarah Harrison.¹²³ Under the date of November 25, 1687, the Herring Creek Meeting recorded, "Sarah Thomas is taken away in death."¹²⁴ Elizabeth Thomas, born in England, married William Coale as his third wife, probably in the 1660s.¹²⁵ In his will of 1678 William Coale mentioned his former wives, Hester and Hannah. *The Thomas Book* also recorded that before 1683 the widow, Elizabeth, married Edward Talbott. While it is true that Talbott married an Elizabeth, her family name was Richardson.¹²⁶ The will of Philip Thomas, also a Friend,¹²⁷ proves the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, to William Coale, Sr., before 1674.

William Coale, Jr., married Elizabeth, widow of George Skipwith, as already recorded. He followed in the footsteps of his father and was prominent in the Herring Creek Meeting.

In 1700 the Yearly Meeting West [River] felt need of a "Select" Meeting—one appt to be held in third mo. Friends of this meeting in the wisdom of God being under a waity consideration of the nessciety of a private meeting for the most waitest friend from every Particular Meeting on this shore to waite upon the Lord and to inspect into the most waittest affairs of Truth which is opinted to be at William Cole's [Jr.] at Fishing Creek three times in the Yeare in the last fourth day of the first month fifth and ninth month.¹²⁸

William Coale, Jr., died in the same year and remembered the Quakers in his will.¹²⁹ William Coale, Sr., who labored in Quakerism for about twenty-one years from the time of his convincement in 1657, died at his plantation at West River in 1678.¹³⁰

The last Testimony to Coale, dated the 24th of the 4th month, 1682, was signed by Henry Currer of London. It ended, "So he has finished his course and kept the faith, and endured unto the end, and is at rest in the Lord forever and ever."¹³¹

GEORGE FOX ATTENDS FIRST GENERAL MEETING

When John Burnyeat called a General Meeting for all Friends in the Province in 1672, settled Meetings already existed at West River and Herring Creek, in Anne Arundel County, and at The Cliffs and Patuxent in Calvert County. More impressive than the number of Meetings, perhaps, was the standing of the Quaker leaders in the Province and the number of people who had been convinced. Burnyeat and his predecessors had planted well. And now George Fox was to visit the Province.

Fox had been released from prison on September 1, 1666, in compliance with an order issued by Charles II:

Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here and now discharged by his majesty's order, quietly pass about his lawful occasions without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough Castle this first day of September 1666.—Jordan Crosslands, Governor of Scarborough Castle.¹

Coincidentally, on the next day the great fire of London began. Thirteen thousand two hundred houses were destroyed.

At both Lancaster and Scarborough, Fox had been imprisoned for about three years. His health was impaired, and he was in a weakened condition. Quakers in England had been reduced to a pitifully small force because of persecution and lack of leadership during a period when many of their leaders had been jailed. Fox set out to place the Society on a firmly organized basis.

The very nature of the theory of the Inward Light made it difficult to direct the individual to conform to the will of the majority. Already, the movement had been brought into disfavor by some well-meaning Friends whose impulsive actions attracted attention and caused criticism.² Therefore, Fox and his more experienced elders decided that if Quakerism were to survive, certain rules of discipline which reflected the views of the majority must be adopted. Their decision resulted in the establishment of Men's and Women's Monthly Meetings to Admonish,³ wherein those not conforming to the will of the flock could be disowned. Not until this practice was put into effect did Quakerism become soundly and firmly organized.

After attending to such organizational matters in England, Fox,

Burnyeat and a party of Friends sailed for America in the fall of 1671, and landed at Jamaica.⁴ Burnyeat continued on to the mainland, but Fox remained in the Barbadoes recuperating and writing Epistles until March, 1672, when he set sail for Maryland.⁵ There he attended the First General Meeting at West River in late April of the same year.

On a gentle rise of land back from the river, which is now known as the Old Quaker Burying Ground, there assembled a great crowd of people in answer to Burnyeat's call. Fox had come ashore at Patuxent only the day before and, although weary, upon being advised of the Meeting, hurried to participate.⁶ In the words of Burnyeat "George Fox did wonderfully open the service thereof to Friends and they with gladness of heart received advice in such necessary things as were then opened unto them."⁷

This Meeting marked the beginning of organized Quakerism in Maryland. It lasted about five days, during which there were Meetings for Discipline,⁸ as well as for worship and business. The work of the early messengers, beginning with Elizabeth Harris, had borne fruit. Quakerism was accepted and respected.⁹ This was the first General Meeting of Friends in Maryland and the first such Meeting attended by George Fox on the mainland of the New World.

In his *Journal*, Fox commented on the number of important people who attended the Meeting.¹⁰ After its conclusion, the first Quaker and his traveling Friends journeyed to The Cliffs in Calvert County. As he recorded it, they traveled partly by land—possibly to Herring Bay—and partly by water. While on the water portion of the trip, they encountered a "great storm" and feared for the lives of those aboard their small vessel.¹¹ Finally, however, they arrived safely, but wet, at their destination.

In recording his first trip to Calvert County, Fox did not refer to the site of the Meeting other than as "a place called the Cliffs." At this Meeting, held immediately following the establishment of a Yearly Meeting at West River, he recorded: "and many of the worlds people were there and did receive the Truth with gladness and reverence."¹² What a comparison with the treatment of Quakers in England and in most of the other colonies!

From The Cliffs the party of traveling Friends divided. Fox, with Burnyeat, Robert Widders, George Pattison and several Maryland Quakers, boarded a boat for the Eastern Shore. John Cartwright and James Lancaster went to New England, while William Edmundson and other Friends journeyed to Virginia.¹³ It was on the last-named visit that William Edmundson convinced Richard Bennett, the former Parliamentary commissioner, who with William Claiborne had tried so hard to annex Maryland to Virginia in 1654 to 1658.

The journey of Fox and his companions on the Eastern Shore was fruitful. They attended a number of Meetings. Following a trip to New England, they returned to the Eastern Shore on the 18th of the 7th month, 1672.¹⁴ They kept on the move, holding Meetings and visiting Indian villages until Fox opened a General Meeting for all Maryland Quakers at Tred Avon Creek, on the 3rd day of the 8th month, 1672, an event that marked the beginning of the present Third Haven Meeting at Easton.¹⁵ For many years thereafter the Yearly Meetings for Maryland Friends alternated between West River and Third Haven.

Late in 1672 Fox, after traveling to the head of the Bay, crossed to the Western Shore and attended a large public Meeting at "Severn" in Anne Arundel County.¹⁶ A gathering described as "more than the meeting place could hold," came to hear him preach. "There were three Justices of the Peace and the Speaker of the Assembly, his wife and many considerable people and the people came generally to it and were much satisfied."¹⁷

It is known that the public Meeting at Severn was held on the 20th day of the 8th month, 1672/3, but there has been much conjecture as to its exact location. Just a few months after the Meeting, Augustine Hermann's Map of Maryland was published in London. Clearly, it shows a settlement called Arundelton on the south side of the Severn River on the site of the present Annapolis, and marked with a symbol believed meant to designate some type of meeting house or church. Possibly this is where George Fox preached, though it was not a Quaker Meeting House. Perhaps it was built and used for both civic and religious purposes by the Nonconformists, Separatists or Independents living in and about the settlement. No record exists of a Church of England edifice in the area at the time.

Some confusion has developed over the next few entries in the *Fox Journal*. Following the Meeting of the 20th, his activities of the next day are not recorded. On the 22nd he noted, "We had a meeting with some who had walked disorderly and after we came about eight miles down the Bay in the night to a Friend's house." The *Journal* continued: "And on the 23rd day we passed by water eight miles. And on the 24th day we passed by water nine miles to the Western Shore and on the 25th day we had a precious and glorious Meeting and large at William Coales."

It is the reference to the Western Shore that complicated the itinerary of Fox on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of the 8th month. If the Severn were his starting point on the 22nd, probably he would have been on the Western Shore on both the 22nd and the 23rd. However, the 21st day is unaccounted for, and on that day he must have crossed

to the Eastern Shore, or the entry for the 24th would be in error. Some historians have taken the entry relative to the Western Shore simply as an indication that he crossed the Severn River on that day. However, Fox and his companions had crossed the bay and would certainly not have confused it with a river.

Of the Meeting at William Coale's on the 25th day, the *Journal* continued: "and the Speaker of the Assembly was there and his wife and another Justice of the Peace and several people of quality."¹⁸ At this time William Coale was seated at "Great Bonnerston," adjoining "Watkins Hope," owned by William Richardson, near the West River Meeting and the Burying Ground. From Coale's the party traveled to Abraham Birkhead's, some seven miles to the southward, where a Meeting was held in his tobacco barn. This was in the vicinity of the present St. James Protestant Episcopal Church. Here Fox recorded: "There were two of their Assemblymen, the Speaker was one who is convinced."¹⁹

Abraham Birkhead's various properties extended from that area southward to Lyons Creek. At his death in 1685, they included: "Birkheads Parcell," originally belonging to his brother, Christopher; "Quick Sale," "Birkheads Mill," "Birkheads Adventure," "Birkheads Rights" and "Birkheads Chance" on Lyons Creek. These totaled approximately 1,200 acres.²⁰ Both Abraham Birkhead and his wife, Anne Birkhead, gave Testimonies to the life and labors of William Coale.

From the Meeting at Birkhead's, the party traveled southward through Calvert County, attending Meetings at Peter Sharpe's house on The Cliffs and at Patuxent. Leaving their sea chests and other gear at James Preston's, near the Patuxent Meeting House, they embarked for Virginia and North Carolina, making a journey of about two months.²¹ Returning to Preston's on the 4th day of the 11th month, they held a Meeting nearby and then attended a General Meeting, most likely at Patuxent. After much traveling about the county, they returned to James Preston's "whose house was burned, and where we had left our boxes and our things and when we came my greatest chest was burned and the house burned to the ground by means of a careless wench."²² The loss must have been costly. It was the middle of winter and "there we laid three nights by the fire on the ground being very cold weather." After this the party again crossed the county, and traveled by open boat to pay a farewell visit to the Eastern Shore.

Then, on the 8th day of the 2nd month, the travelers "passed in a boat over the Bay to the Western Shore about fourteen miles to a Friend's house where we met with some of our Friends we had parted from before that had been abroad in service and I sent for Thomas

Thurston to bring the Truth over his actions and had Meetings with him.”²³

This Meeting was held in the vicinity of the West River Meeting and Burying Ground. However, since the plantations of Thomas Hooker, Edward Talbott, William Coale, Samuel Galloway, William Richardson and Benjamin Lawrence all were in that area, it is impossible to identify the exact site.

Here Fox referred to the Thomas Thurston previously identified as one of the first Quakers to reach America and whose sojourn in Maryland was controversial. At various times after 1658, he was at odds with Provincial officials and was called to account by both Fox and Burnyeat. It has been said that, “Extravagant spiritual claims put him out of unity with Friends.”²⁴

On the 9th day of the 2nd month, the party went seven miles “to the Speaker of the Assembly’s house, who is the Judge of that County who had much desired me before and he and his wife were very loving.”²⁵ Here Fox referred to Samuel and Ann Ayres Chew, both, by then, ardent Friends whose house overlooked Herring Bay. The next day, the 10th of the 2nd month, “We had a lively Meeting blessed by the Lord forever; it was in a school house and there were several people of account, a Judge’s wife and one of the Council’s wife and one of the Assembly were there and very loving.”

The location of the school house is not known. In 1699, however, Samuel Chew II deeded 1.4 acres of land to “Richard Harrison, William Coale, Nehemiah Birkhead, Benjamin Chew, Robert Gover, Xpher [Christopher] Mather, Nathaniel Smith and Samuel Harrison—to the use of the people called Quakers,” on which the Herring Creek Meeting House was built before 1706.²⁶ Its location is clearly shown on the Sotzmann Map of Maryland, published in 1797.

On the 11th day the group “passed by water about thirty miles down the bay to a Friend’s house on the Cliffs.” The Friend was probably John Gary. The next entry finds the travelers across Calvert County on the shores of the Patuxent River. “On the 20th day of the 2nd month we had a Meeting at Patuxent Meeting place about a mile over a creek from our Friends house where we lodged.” This entry might indicate that the house of James Preston, which had been burned, may have been rebuilt since its location previously had been given as being about a mile from the Patuxent Meeting.²⁷ Fox continued: “And this week we had much writing and answering and on the 27th day we went a mile to a Meeting and the heavenly presence was felt among the glory to the Lord forever Amen.

“And on the 26th day of the 2nd month I passed over a creek in a canoe and thence to Leonards Creek [St. Leonards] about three miles

to see for a ship to take our passage for England.”²⁸ Having made preparation for leaving America, George Fox and his followers again were on the move. “On the 11th day of the 3rd month we had a glorious Meeting at the Cliffs and on the 15th day there came a Justice from Potomac in Virginia, a pretty man and had been under persecution and threatened by the priest and others [since the Justice was from Virginia where the Church of England was established the priest referred to was probably of that faith]. He and his man came forty miles on foot; he hath a great love to the Truth.”²⁹

“The 15th day we passed through the woods about twenty-two miles; and on the 16th we passed about thirteen miles. On the 17th day began the General Meeting of the Province of Maryland which held four days. The first day were the Men’s and Women’s Meetings where we discoursed about the affairs of the Church of God. On the 18th and 19th days was the General Public Meeting and a wonderful and glorious Meeting it was and the mighty presence of God over all was seen, blessed and praised be his Name forever Amen. And there were two of the Governors Council and their wives and two of the Assembly and their wives and two Justices of the Peace and many considerable people of account and all were very much reached and satisfied and parted in the life and power of the Lord.”³⁰

The Nickalls edition of the *Journal of George Fox* states that this General Meeting was held “at Pettys (Betty’s?) Cove on the Miles River.”³¹ From the *Journal*, however, it is clear that from the 11th day Meeting at The Cliffs the party of Friends did not cross the bay but traveled by land on both the 15th and 16th days. The distance given is thirty-five miles which would bring them to West River where the General Meeting of the 17th day undoubtedly was held.³² These facts are further substantiated by the next entry in the *Journal*—“So after the Meeting was done we in the power of the Lord parted and passed away and went by water and land fifty miles.” This is about the distance from West River down the bay about thirty-five miles and then across lower Calvert County to the Patuxent. Nowhere in the *Journal* can be found a reference to crossing the bay following the 11th day Meeting at The Cliffs, or to re-crossing the Chesapeake before the 17th day Meeting at West River. It was fitting, too, that the last Meeting of Friends in Maryland attended by George Fox should have been West River, where about a year before he had opened the first General Meeting in the Province.

Fox, James Lancaster and Robert Widders had engaged passage for England, and on the 21st day of the 3rd month they boarded the ship *Society of Bristol* riding in the Patuxent Roads. “And on the 22nd day of the 3rd month we drew anchor and sailed but about one mile



SITE OF THE FIRST GENERAL MEETING IN MARYLAND



THE INDIAN SPRING MEETING HOUSE



LARKINS HILLS



WHITES HALL



CEDAR PARK



SOPHIA RICHARDSON GALLOWAY
MRS. RICHARD GALLOWAY, JR.
BY JOHN HESSELIUS

THE METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM OF ART,
Maria De Witt Jessup Fund, 1922



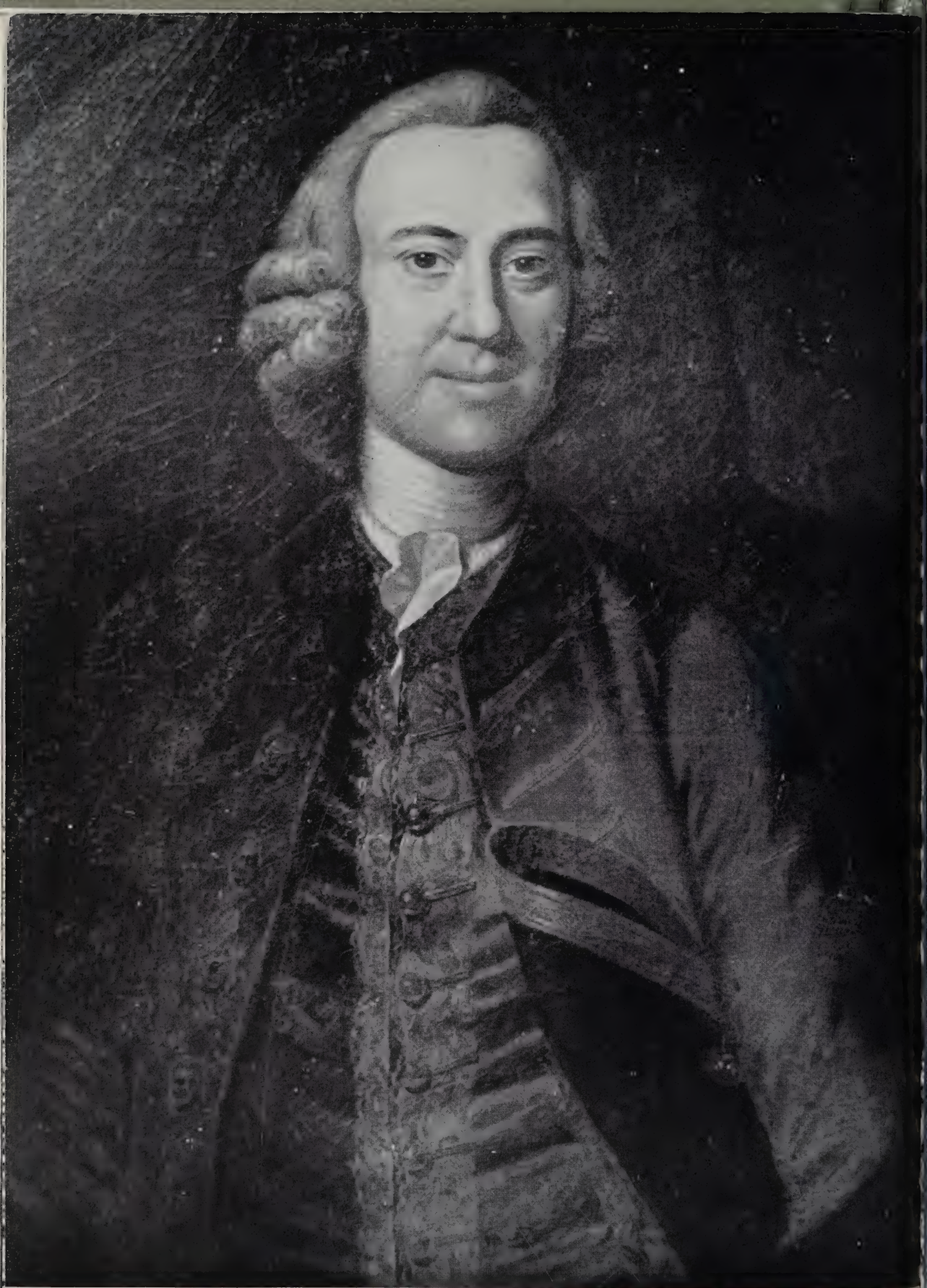
ANNE CHEW GALLOWAY
MRS. SAMUEL GALLOWAY III
BY JOHN WOLLASTON



HOLLY HILL



TULIP HILL



SAMUEL GALLOWAY III
BY
JOHN WOLLASTON



SUDLEY



Galloway Influence in West River's Quaker Homes



to Point Patience." Not until the 24th did the vessel clear the Patuxent on its journey to England.³³ After a stormy passage of about a month, it reached Bristol and a joyful reunion was held with Margaret, wife of George Fox, and Thomas Lower, William Penn and his wife and Gerard Roberts.³⁴

Fox had been abroad almost two years, most of which had been spent in Maryland. It must have been with great satisfaction that he reviewed his labors in America and especially in Maryland. There he had left Quakerism, first brought to the Province by Elizabeth Harris, firmly planted, with settled Meetings being held on both shores of the Chesapeake. He also could look back to his trip as one of hard, rugged and almost constant travel, but free from persecution or governmental interference—an unheard of note in his otherwise turbulent life. His *Journal* recorded only kind and loving treatment, not only from the people, but also from judges, justices of the peace and members of the Council and of the Assembly.

Only a few months after his return to England, Fox was committed to jail at Worcester on December 17, 1673.³⁵ In and out of prison for the rest of his life, he carried his leadership of Quakerism high and kept in touch with the Friends he had made in Maryland. He departed this life "in peace and slept sweetly on the 13th of the month anciently called January, 1691, about ten o'clock at night in the 67th year of his age."³⁶

THE WEST RIVER MEETING *

The West River Meeting, the first Quaker Meeting for the Western Shore of the Chesapeake, was settled by Friends from all sections of Anne Arundel County and some neighboring areas. It developed from, and was a continuation of, the public and private Meetings begun by Elizabeth Harris in 1656 and the documented house Meetings at Richard Beard's and Robert Clarkson's in 1657, and at John Home-wood's in 1664.¹ Many more public and house Meetings were held throughout the county before 1672, especially during the periods when Thomas Thurston, Josiah Coale, Thomas Chapman, William Robinson, Robert Hodgson, Christopher Holder, George Rofe, and John Burnyeat labored in Maryland. It is also believed that house Meetings were held at Thomas Hooker's at West River following his conviction in 1657.

Thus, in April, 1672, when John Burnyeat sent out his call for the first General Meeting for Friends in Maryland, to be held at West River for the purpose of founding a Yearly Meeting, Quakerism already had been planted in the county for about sixteen years. By that time, in fact, most of the founders of the county who resided in the West River area had become Friends. Among these were the Galloways—Richard I and his two sons Samuel I and Richard II of "Galloways," later patented as "The Gift" and as "The Favor"; Thomas Hooker I and II of "Brownton," site of the first General Meeting and the later Meeting House; Richard and Edward Talbott of "Poplar Knowle," now "Tulip Hill"; Benjamin Lawrence of "Ewen upon Ewenton," now "Cedar Park"; William Richardson of "Watkins Hope," a part of which is now known as "Woodstock"; Richard Arnold of "Cumberstone," now "Sudley"; John Waters of "The Fork"; James White of "Whites Folly"; William Ford of "Fordstone"; John Larkin of "Larkins Hills"; Thomas Miles of "Marys Mount"; William Coale of "Great Bonnerston"; Jacob Duhhattes of "Dort";² George Skipwith of "Skipwiths Addition"; and Thomas Sparrow of "Sparrows Rest".

The exact date of the erection of the frame Meeting House at West River is not known. Its site, now called the Old Quaker Burying Ground, is at the intersection of State Routes 468 and 255 near Gales-

* The Yearly Meeting dates from April, 1672. The word "Meeting" denotes an organization rather than a particular gathering.

ville. The Meeting House is known to have been used prior to 1697,³ and since it had been enlarged by 1706 when Quakerism in the area had reached its height, it is presumed to have been built much earlier. About 1700 a tent house was erected near the Meeting House to accommodate the increased attendance at Yearly Meetings.⁴ From that shelter nearby Tenthouse Creek gets its name. Also there were so-called tenting fields adjacent to the site for the use of visiting Friends. It is thought that the Meeting House burned about 1836,⁵ but some evidence indicates that it may have been standing as late as the Civil War.⁶

In addition to the data contained in the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter and in the Testimonies to William Coale, the Minutes of the West River Meeting are available. They begin in 1671, and from the first entries it is evident that both the West River and Herring Creek Meetings, as well as The Cliffs and Patuxent Meetings in Calvert County, had been settled some years before. The first names to appear are those of Elizabeth Richardson, Sarah Fishbourne, Elizabeth Taylor, Elizabeth Skipwith and Sarah Thomas, all of whom attended a half-year Meeting for women at West River in 1679.⁷ Incidentally, Elizabeth was a favorite name among early Friends.

Elizabeth Richardson, the wife of William Richardson I, was the former Elizabeth Ewen Talbott, widow of Richard Talbott of "Poplar Knowle," now "Tulip Hill." Sarah Fishbourne was the wife of Ralph Fishbourne of the Eastern Shore. Elizabeth Skipwith was the daughter of Thomas Thurston and had married George Skipwith of nearby "Skipwiths Addition." Elizabeth Taylor's husband was Thomas Taylor, a long-time Friend who lived on the Eastern Shore. Finally, Sarah Thomas was the widow of Philip Thomas I. She survived her husband by about twelve years, and her death is recorded in the Minutes of the Herring Creek Meeting.

Another Meeting was held at West River in 1679. John Pardoe and John Giles were among those present. Little is known of Pardoe, although the family name appears in several of the early records. Giles was the founder of the well-known Giles family of Friends. Later he purchased "Cumberton," part of the original "Cumberstone" grant. The family intermarried with its neighbors, the Franklins, the Waters and the Arnolds. A son, Jacob, married Elizabeth Arnold, daughter of Richard and Martha Thomas Arnold of "Cumberstone" in 1701. The names of the forty-one witnesses on the marriage certificate are listed later.

Twenty-four Friends from both shores of the Chesapeake attended a half-year Meeting for Men at George Skipwith's house near West River in 1680.⁸ As listed in the minutes they were:

Eastern Shore

Thomas Taylor
 William Southabee
 John Pitt
 Richard Mitchell
 William Edmonson
 Thomas Everndon
 William Stocknoll
 William Dixon
 John Pemberton
 Obadiah Judkins
 Ralph Fishbourne

Western Shore

George Skipwith
 Richard Johns
 William Richardson [I]
 Thomas Hooker
 Francis Billingsley
 Soloman Sparrow
 William Mears
 Edward Talbott
 William Coale [II]
 Samuel Galloway [I]
 Charles Gorsuch
 Theo. Beane

Virtually all of these men were well-known and substantial citizens. Thomas Taylor, John Pitt and William Edmonson were mentioned in Fox's *Journal*. William Edmonson and Thomas Everndon (Everden, Everdine), both elected to the lower house of the General Assembly in 1692, were expelled for failure to take the prescribed oath.⁹ William Southbee (Southabee), together with John Pitt of the Eastern Shore and others from the Western Shore, including Anne Ayres Chew, widow of Samuel Chew I of "Herrington," and Margaret Burrage Smith, wife of Nathan Smith of the "Lords Bounty," made up a party of Friends who traveled the Eastern Shore and Delaware "in the service of Truth" in 1681.¹⁰ Most of those who attended the 1680 Meeting and who lived on the Western Shore are identified elsewhere.

It was a custom of Friends to announce "Bans of Marriage Intentions" at some of their Meetings. Those declared at a half-year Meeting at West River in 1679 included William Moors (Mears) and Elizabeth Webb; Charles Gorsuch and Rebecca Preston; and William Jones and Sarah Hall. William was a son of Thomas Mears, a founding Friend.¹¹ Elizabeth Webb was the daughter of John Webb of the Eastern Shore who, in 1678, built a "boate suitable for ye service of Truth and accommodating Friends in ye ministry in their Travailes to Virginia and other ways." However, it was thought "to bee too great a charge to lie upon him, she being in public service on account of the Truth" and Webb was paid twenty-six thousand pounds of tobacco for his craft, the *Good Will*.¹²

William and Elizabeth Mears lived in the Herring Creek Hundred on land called "Grammers Parrett."¹² At his death, in 1692, one son, Abraham, and five daughters survived him.¹⁴ Charles Gorsuch was one of four brothers who had come to Maryland with their mother in 1652.¹⁵ All were Friends. Charles finally settled on a plantation in the Broad Neck Hundred.¹⁶ His wife Rebecca was probably a daughter

of Richard Preston, "the Great Quaker" who resided on the lower Patuxent River. James Preston, his son, also had a daughter Rebecca who, at the time of her father's death in 1673, was under age.¹⁷ William Jones, a witness to the will of Richard Preston in 1669, was living in Anne Arundel County in 1671, and although he spent some time on the Eastern Shore, he died in that county in 1684.¹⁸ Sarah Hall was the daughter of Richard who signed one of the Testimonies to William Coale "at the General half year Meeting at West River in Maryland the 29th day of the 3rd mo. 1680." The couple were members of the West River Meeting.

Other Meetings at West River were held the 21st day of the 3rd month 1680, and at "the house of Benjamin Lawrence," now "Cedar Park," in 1684; "at the house of Elizabeth Lawrence," his widow, in 1685; at the house of Samuel Galloway I in 1686 and again in 1688 and 1691; and at the house of Richard Galloway II, now "Cedar Park," in 1694, 1695, 1697 and 1699.¹⁹ Thus, "Cedar Park" is the only surviving structure in Anne Arundel County to have been the site of religious services as early as 1684.

Dated 1686, the marriage certificate of Elizabeth Talbott Lawrence and Richard Galloway II, is extant and contains the names of early Friends,²⁰ as do the records of the Meetings at Samuel Galloway's house. Among them were Elizabeth Talbott, wife of Edward Talbott; Elizabeth Johns, Susannah Ewen Billingsley, Elizabeth Mears and Elizabeth Coale. Elizabeth Johns was the wife of Richard Johns; Susannah Ewen Billingsley, a daughter of Richard Ewen, married Francis Billingsley of Calvert County; Elizabeth Mears has been identified previously; and Elizabeth Coale, born August 30, 1671, was a daughter of William Coale I by his third wife, Elizabeth Thomas.²¹

An interesting Minute of a 1694 Meeting at the home of Richard Galloway II, now "Cedar Park," follows: "It is the unanimous consent of the Women Friends of the Women's Yearly Meeting that an Epistle be writ unto our friends and sisters in London and it is agreed by the consent of the said Meeting that our friend and sister Ann Galloway should write it."²² Ann Galloway, the wife of Samuel Galloway I, was called a Quaker Minister in 1697. As has been previously indicated, she is affectionately referred to by her present-day descendants as "Mistress Ann."

In 1699 and 1700, just before the ratification of an acceptable law establishing the Church of England in the Province, Quakerism reached its greatest strength in Anne Arundel County. Writing from West River on the 4th day of the 12th month, 1699, Samuel Galloway I said: "Truth prospers with us and there is a greater convincement amongst people than I have known in my time."²³

The gradual decline of Quaker strength in the county, and the various reasons for it, are related later in this book. Long after 1700, however, Meetings continued to be held at West River and, while some of the early family names began to disappear from the records, a few new ones appeared. In 1710 Deborah Moore attended a Meeting at the West River Meeting House. She was the wife of Dr. Mordecai Moore, "practitioner in Physick and Chyrurgery" of South River and Londontowne.²⁴

At a Yearly Meeting in 1713, Friends gathered at West River from both shores of the Chesapeake. From Anne Arundel County and the West River and Herring Creek Meetings came:

Mordecai Moore
 William Richardson [II]
 Nicholas Birkhead
 Samuel Galloway [I]
 Richard Waters
 Samuel Gover
 William Dove

Those attending from Calvert County were:

Richard Bond
 Thomas Preston
 Richard Johns, Jr.²⁵

Judging from the number of witnesses on the marriage certificate of Jacob Giles and Elizabeth Arnold, dated 1701, attendance at this Yearly Meeting, especially from West River, was small. For perhaps the first time the names of Chew, Sparrow and Thomas do not appear. This is also true in the record of a Women's Meeting at West River in 1718 where the following names are noted:

Priscilla Johns	Mary Bartlett
Priscilla Roberts	Margaret Holland
Frances Wallis	Cassandra Coale
Mary Davis	Sarah Hall
Elizabeth Bond ²⁶	

Priscilla Johns was the wife of Richard Johns, Jr., and daughter of Francis and Elizabeth Hutchins of Calvert County.²⁷ Priscilla Roberts, a daughter of Richard Johns I and Elizabeth Kensey Sparrow Johns, was born on March 21, 1681/82. She and Robert Roberts declared their intention to wed on December 3, 1703.²⁸ Probably Frances Wallis was connected with the Wallis family of Kent County.²⁹ Mary Davis,

a sister of Jabez Peirpont of Baltimore County, was frequently a witness to the wills of Friends in both Talbot and Kent counties and was active in Quakerism.³⁰ Mary Bartlett, an attendant from the Eastern Shore, was the wife of John Bartlett in 1718. Margaret Holland, wife of William Holland, was a daughter of Margaret Gill of Anne Arundel County.³¹ Her name also appears in the will, dated 1722, of a Friend named Edward Parrish. Sarah Hall, widow of Elisha Hall of Calvert County, had a daughter Sarah, who married Samuel Harrison of "Hollands Hills," now "Holly Hill." In his will, dated May 7, 1716, and probated on February 8, 1717, Hall left his wife Sarah certain personalty for use during her widowhood and to his "daughter Sarah, wife of Samuel Harrison, a silver tankard," and "to Friends of the Western Shore for Charity."³² A daughter of George and Elizabeth Thurston Skipwith, named Cassandra, married Philip Coale, son of William and Elizabeth Thomas Coale, on April 6, 1697.³³ However, another Cassandra Coale, daughter of William and Elizabeth Thomas Coale, married John Giles, Jr., in January, 1722/23.³⁴

The old Meeting House continued in use through most of the Eighteenth Century, and in many Meetings much time was devoted to the slavery question. By 1765, however, many descendants of the founding Friends of West River had drifted away and there were signs of "a conformity to fashions and corrupt customs of a vain world."³⁵

The marriage records of the West River Meeting reveal the union of many early Quaker families, or, after 1700, of their descendants. In 1701 a certificate was recorded for Benjamin Lawrence, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth Talbott Lawrence, and Rachel Marriarte, daughter of Edward and Honor Marriarte of Anne Arundel County. Both families were well known and resided in the West River area.³⁶ In 1704, Elizabeth Arnold Giles of "Cumberstone," now "Sudley," married a second husband, Thomas Hawkins³⁷ of a family that dates back to the founding of the county. Jacob Duhataway, son of Jacob and Margaret, married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward and Mary Parrish in 1712.³⁸ Jacob Duhataway, Sr.,* was the grantee of "Dort," one of the early grants in the West River Hundred. A part of his land now is known as "Belle Grove." The Parrish family resided in the area now known as Shady Side, where one of the largest creeks still bears their name. On the 26th and 27th of the 4th month, 1722, Edward Parrish, Jr., brother of Elizabeth, and Rachell Harwood appeared before the Third Haven Meeting at Easton and made the first declaration of their intention to marry, but he was advised to procure a certificate from the West River Monthly Meeting. Evidently Rachell Harwood was from the well-known Eastern Shore family of that name.³⁹

* The name has many variants in spelling.

The marriage of Isaac Johns, son of Richard I and Elizabeth Kensey Sparrow Johns, and Ann Galloway of West River is recorded in the records the 25th day of the 12th month, 1712. The bride was a daughter of Samuel I and Ann Webb Galloway. The union of Richard Galloway IV and Sophia, daughter of William and Margaret Smith Richardson, is recorded in 1715. Samuel Chew of "Maidstone," son of Benjamin and Elizabeth Benson Chew, and Mary, daughter of Samuel I and Ann Webb Galloway, were married at the West River Meeting on October 22, 1715.⁴⁰ Mary Chew died on May 26, 1734, and on September 28, 1735, Samuel then married Mrs. Mary Paca Galloway, widow of Richard Galloway III of "Cumberstone."⁴¹

John Galloway, son of Samuel I and Ann Webb Galloway, married Mary Thomas in 1718 at West River, and from this union the Galloway line of "Tulip Hill" descends. After the death of Mary, John Galloway married, on the 2nd day of the 12th month, 1744, at the Philadelphia Meeting of Friends, a second wife, Jane Roberts Fishbourne, widow of William Fishbourne. A daughter of the second marriage, Jane, also known as Jenny, married Joseph Shippen of Philadelphia in 1768.⁴²

Richard Galloway II and Sarah Sparrow, widow of Solomon Sparrow, declared their intention to marry, both for the second time, in 1719.⁴³

Sarah, a daughter of Samuel Galloway I and Ann Webb Galloway, married Henry Hill, a mariner, in 1720. At one time Hill commanded the brigantine *Betty* out of South River. In the records he is listed as the son of Henry and Mary Hill. The brig was owned by Captain Richard Hill and Mordecai Moore of South River, William Holland, Richard Johns, Samuel Chew, Richard Harrison and Nehemiah Birkhead of Herring Bay, and William Coale of West River. All of them were Friends.⁴⁴ In 1723 Sarah Galloway Hill married a second husband, Joseph Cowman, also a mariner. They lived for some time at the "Great House," now called "Larkins Hundred," which had been built by Thomas Larkin on Mill Swamp Road.⁴⁵ Captain Cowman was a member of the ancient South River Club before 1742. One son of the second union married into the Gerrard Hopkins family, and another into the Snowden clan. The latter engaged in business with his father-in-law, Richard Snowden, at his iron works at the forks of the Patuxent River.⁴⁶ All were members of the later Indian Spring Quaker Meeting.

Another union of prominent Quaker families occurred when Johns Hopkins I and Elizabeth Thomas declared their intentions and were married on February 16, 1759, in accordance with Quaker rites. Elizabeth was the daughter of Samuel and Mary Snowden Thomas.

Johns Hopkins I had married Mary Gillis and after her death Mary Richardson Crockett, widow and daughter of Joseph Richardson. Samuel Hopkins, who was born on February 3, 1759, the son of Johns Hopkins I and Elizabeth Thomas, married Hannah, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Jones Janney in August, 1792. Their son, Johns, born on May 16, 1795, became the great Baltimore financier.⁴⁷

A record of a Meeting at West River in 1765 includes the name of Stephen Steward. At the time this Friend was a partner of Samuel Galloway III of "Tulip Hill" and Kensey Johns II of "Sudley." During the Revolutionary War, Stewart's shipyard, with a newly completed ship of twenty guns still on the ways, and his house at the head of West River were burned by the British on March 31, 1781.⁴⁸

The records also list a Meeting for Women held at the Meeting House in 1773. From the Western Shore, only Ann Moore, Mary Parrish, Mary Griffith, Ann Thomas and Mary Plummer were present.⁴⁹ The family names of many early Friends and their descendants, who for well over a hundred years had labored and supported the once powerful West River Meeting, were missing. While those in attendance were all descended from Quaker founders of the county, the absence of such names as Galloway, Chew, Coale, Hopkins, Johns, Richardson, Harrison, Birkhead, Waters, Preston, Holland and Hall foretells the impending abandonment of the parent Meeting of the Western Shore. About 1785 the affairs of the West River Meeting were taken over by the Baltimore Meeting of Friends.⁵⁰ In 1788 at a Meeting in Baltimore Town it was declared that "Friends seem to be clear of holding slaves."⁵¹

Today in Anne Arundel County only the Old Burying Ground at West River bears the name of Quaker. A rough wooden marker, bearing the date 1672, is the lonely identification of the site as the birthplace of organized Quakerism in Maryland.

Through its records and accounts the West River Meeting has left a remarkable picture of early Quakerism in the area. They assist in identifying many of the original settlers who contributed so much to the founding and development of Anne Arundel County. The story of their labors and accomplishments provides a firm and inspiring historical heritage, while their material legacy, the fine Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century houses, vouch for the character, strength and vision of "the people called Quakers."

THE HERRING CREEK MEETING

The Herring Creek Meeting, settled before 1671,¹ included many of the original settlers of the Herring Creek Hundred. It was probably one of those referred to by George Rofe in 1661, when he commented upon the number of Meetings on the shores of the Chesapeake.²

As was usual, the early gatherings were held in the houses of local Friends.³ When attendance increased tobacco barns were used,⁴ and on his visit to Herring Creek, in 1673, George Fox recorded in his *Journal*, "We had a very lively Meeting . . . ; it was in a school house and there were several people of account, a judges wife and one of the Council's wife and one of the Assembly were there."⁵ The school house mentioned was the first in the southern part of the county and, possibly, the first in all of Anne Arundel. Since early Quakerism was noted for its emphasis upon education, it is reasonably certain that the school was for Quaker children. Other than the fact that its location was near Herring Creek, it cannot be identified.

The Herring Creek Meeting House was built before 1706, probably about 1700. When writing to Friends in England on the 12th day of the 6th month, 1706, Richard Johns said: "Several new Meeting Houses have been built, viz:—at the Cliffs [Calvert County], Herring Creek and Patapsco, also large additions have been made to our Yearly Meeting House at West River."⁶ The land for the Meeting House was transferred by Samuel Chew II to Friends of the area by a deed dated March 18, 1699.⁷ It included:

all that part of land containing in quantity one acre and four tenths of an acre of land lying in the County. . . . It being part of a parcel of land called Chews Right near the southwest corner tree of the said Chews Right, joining on a parcel of land called Smiths Delight,⁸ now in possession of Samuel Chew . . . at a marked red oak and running east for the length of four chains to a bounded hickory and thence north three chains and a half to a bounded Poplar and thence west four chains to a red oak and from thence to the first bounded tree now in my possession as by Patent granted my deceased father having date of June 22, 1694 [sic].⁹

* * *

one and four tenth acres of land with all its rights and I assign forever to their own use and behalf and to their uses and behoofs hereinafter mentioned, that is to say the people called Quakers shall have the right and privilege from time to time to erect upon the said ground a house there to

be erected and built and then at pleasure to meet and bury their dead and from time to time the house to repair and enlarge and their grave yard fenced or paled to keep up and in repair and their several Meetings there to be and peacefully enjoy from time to time and forever more the Lott without trouble or molestation.¹⁰

Those who took title for "the people called Quakers" were Richard Harrison, William Coale, Nehemiah Birkhead, Benjamin Chew, Robert Gover, Xpher (Christopher) Mather, Nathaniel Smith and Samuel Harrison.¹¹ They were all substantial landholders and residents of the Herring Creek Hundred. Samuel Chew II, grantor of the land on which the Meeting House was built, was the oldest son of Samuel I and Ann Ayres Chew, who were among the founders of the Meeting. Born in 1660 at Herring Bay, Samuel Chew II first married Anne (last name unknown) on April 14, 1682. He married, secondly, Mrs. Elizabeth Thurston Skipwith Coale on June 29, 1704. She was a daughter of Thomas Thurston, the controversial Quaker, and she had previously married George Skipwith, an early Friend, and William Coale, Jr., son of Anne Arundel's noted Quaker minister. Samuel Chew II died in 1718.¹²

Benjamin Chew, a trustee of the Meeting House site, was the fifth son of Samuel I and Ann Ayres Chew, and a brother of Samuel II, grantor of the land. He was born at Herring Creek on April 12, 1670/71,¹³ and, in 1692, married Elizabeth Benson at the house of Richard Harrison, now the well-known estate of "Holly Hill."¹⁴

Robert Gover, another of the trustees, was the founder of a large family whose descendants still reside in the Herring Creek area. He was granted "Govers Venture" in the Herring Creek Hundred on August 31, 1678, and "Govers Fenin" of about 419 acres in 1683.¹⁵ He died in 1700, leaving a wife Elizabeth, a daughter Rachel, and two brothers Samuel and Ephraim.¹⁶

Nehemiah Birkhead, another Friend mentioned in the 1699 deed, was the son of Christopher Birkhead, a founder of the Herring Creek Meeting and one of the English Quakers who had come to the county before 1661.¹⁷ In 1676 he inherited several of his father's estates. He was the same Nehemiah Birkhead spoken of by Governor Blackiston in 1699 as being one of those Friends who delivered to him King William's veto of the latest law to establish the Church of England in Maryland. His will was probated on May 18, 1720, and under its terms he left a substantial estate and £10 for the "Quakers of the Western Shore."¹⁸

Richard and Samuel Harrison, also referred to in the deed, were father and eldest son respectively. Richard, an early settler of the Herring Creek Hundred, acquired "Hollands Hills."¹⁹ On this land,

near the site of the Herring Creek Meeting House, he built the older wing of the fine house now called "Holly Hill." Samuel married Sarah, daughter of Elisha Hall of Calvert County, some time before 1716/17²⁰ and built the later wing before 1733.

The only mention found of Christopher Mather, another of the Herring Creek Friends, is the fact he witnessed the will of Benjamin Chew, dated February 26, 1699. However, Nathaniel Smith, another of the trustees, was a son of Nathan Smith, a large landholder in the area. "Smiths Delight," mentioned in the 1699 deed from Samuel Chew II, was granted to Nathan Smith in 1665.²¹ After the building of the Meeting House, Nathaniel Smith seems to have left Anne Arundel County, possibly moving to Queen Anne's County.

An early record of the Herring Creek Meeting discloses that the marriage intentions of Samuel Thomas and Mary Hutchens were declared for the second time at a Quarterly Meeting held at the house of Ann Chew on the 2nd day of the 3rd month, 1688. Evidently, one Thomas Smith had voiced an objection, for the statement was made that "Richard Harrison and Nathan Smith doe inform this Meeting that the said Thomas Smith does discharge the said Mary Hutchens from any engagement whatsoever whereupon this Meeting doe leave them to their liberty as to the time of their marriage and doe advise them to follow the advice of Edward Talbott & Soloman Sparrow."²²

Samuel Thomas of Anne Arundel County and Mary Hutchens of Calvert County were married "this 15th day of the 3rd Month called May 1688."²³ Those who signed the marriage certificate as witnesses were:

Francis Hutchins	Elizabeth Richardson
Margaret Evans	Richard Galloway
Job Evans	Elizabeth Galloway
Margaret Tench	Samuel Thomas
Grace Scrivener	Mary Hutchins
Elizabeth Coale	William Richardson, Jr.
Sarah Hooker	Joseph Heathcote
Elizabeth Smith	Mary Knighton
Thomas Smith	
Philip Cole	Elizabeth Battee
Samuell Coale	Joseph Richardson
Sam ^{ll} Lane	Joseph Hanslap
Benjamin Scrivener	Soloman Sparrow
William Coale, Jr.	Sophia Richardson
William Richardson	Francis Hanslap ²⁴

An important Meeting was held at Herring Creek on the 7th day of the 9th month, 1688. Many of Maryland's most prominent Friends

attended. Growing out of it was a letter to Charles, Third Lord Baltimore, thanking him for his acceptance of a new law which permitted Quakers to affirm instead of to swear in testamentary cases. Friends from both shores of the Chesapeake who subscribed to this letter were:

William Richardson	William Harris	William Mears
Richard Harrison	Richard Galloway II	Joseph Chew
Soloman Sparrow	Ralph Fishbourne	Samuel Griffith
George Royston	William Edmonson	William Kidd
Humphrey Hodges	William Holliday	John Cutting
Will Forth	Francis Billingsley	Henry Foster
Thomas Witched	Edward Talbott	William Berry
Thomas Evernden	Samuel Chew II	Living Donwood
John Pitt	William Coale, Jr.	John Austin
Richard Johns	Robt. Harper	Howel Powel ²⁵

At a Women's Meeting at West River, in 1700, the following Friends represented the Herring Creek Meeting:

Elizabeth Cole (Coale)	Elizabeth Smith, Jr.
Elizabeth Harrison, Sr.	Elizabeth Chew
Elizabeth Harrison, Jr.	Elizabeth Weddon ²⁶

The Elizabeth Cole (Coale) who attended the Meeting was the former Elizabeth Thurston Skipwith, then the wife of William Coale, Jr. She later married Samuel Chew II. Elizabeth Harrison was the wife of Richard Harrison I, and the other Elizabeth Harrison must have been a daughter. Richard Harrison I and Elizabeth Hall had declared their intention to marry at the Herring Creek Meeting in 1695.²⁷ Elizabeth Smith was the wife of Nathan Smith, an early Friend and large landholder of the area. Finally, Elizabeth Chew was the former Elizabeth Benson who had married Benjamin Chew at the house of Richard Harrison I in 1692. She was married again in 1702 to Richard Bond of Calvert County. Elizabeth Weddon cannot be identified.

A Quarterly Meeting was held at Samuel Chew's house in 1721, at which Samuel Galloway II and Mordecai Moore were appointed to inspect the "Friends Stock."²⁸ This was a pool of assets of the Meetings, consisting of such items as tobacco and livestock, for the Society's use in caring for its sick and poor, and for repairs to Meeting Houses. The Samuel Galloway mentioned was the son of Richard I.²⁹ Mordecai Moore lived in the South River area near Londontowne.³⁰

An interesting certificate, dated 1724, attests the marriage of Philip Thomas and Ann Chew of Herring Creek. It follows:

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE
OF
PHILIP THOMAS AND ANN CHEW, 1724.

Maryland

Whereas, Philip Thomas, of Anne Arundel County, and Ann Chew, the Daughter of Samuel Chew, Having Publicly declared their Intention of marriage with each other, at the two monthly meetings of the People called Quakers, and after due deliberation in just Impediment to the accomplishment of the same being found it was approved by the said meetings, and they left to their Libertie to appoint Time and Place convenient for the Consummation thereby.

These are therefore to certify that on the Eleventh Day of the Sixth Month called August, Anno Dom. 1724. at the House of the said Samuel Chew, The said Philip Thomas and Ann Chew appeared in Public and open assembly of the said People and others met Together chiefly for the end and Purpose aforesaid, and did then and there Solemnly Declare that they took each other in marriage in the Presence of Almighty God, and before that Assembly with mutual promises to be unto each other Faithful and Loving unto Death.

In testimony whereof the said Philip and Ann have hereunto subscribed their names as Husband and Wife, (She, according to the custom of marriage, assuming the name of her Husband,) and we, who were present at the said Declaration of Marriage and Subscription, have hereunto Set our names the Day and year aforesaid.

P. Thomas

Samuel Chew of Maidstone.

Ann Thomas

NAMES ON MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE
OF
PHILIP THOMAS AND ANN CHEW

Rebekah Richardson	Richard Johns
Margaret Hopkins	Kensey Johns
Sarah Richardson	Robert Roberts
Mary Hall	Hen. Childs
Mary Richardson	Peter Sharp
Gerrard Hopkins	Somervel Harrison
Eliza Johns	Eliza Bond
Sarah Hall	John Chew
Mary Hall	Elizabeth Holland
Sarah Harrison	Samuel Chew
Mary Chew	Ann Thomas

Dorothy Brooke	Sarah Locke
Ann Chew	Margaret Birckhead
Sarah Bond	Thomas Smith
Abra. Johns	Ann Chew
Ann Rawlings	Richard Galloway
Sarah Gover	Abram Richardson
Elizabeth Birckhead	Samuel Chew
Jno. Galloway	John Thomas
Margaret Richardson	Elizabeth Snowden
Richard Richardson	Mary Galloway
Daniel Richardson	Nathaniel Chew
Elizabeth Smith	Sarah Richardson ³¹
Priscilla Johns	

According to *The Thomas Book*, Samuel Chew IV, who was born on October 30, 1693, and who died in 1744, signed himself as "Samuel Chew of Maidstone." Also known as Dr. Samuel Chew, he was the son of Benjamin and Elizabeth Benson Chew. However, the bride named in the marriage certificate of 1724 must have been a daughter of Samuel Chew III (1683-1736) and of Mary, daughter of Richard II and Elizabeth Hall Harrison. Soon after the wedding the Harrisons removed to Pennsylvania.³² Samuel Chew IV of "Maidstone" married Mary, daughter of Samuel and Anne Webb Galloway, on October 22, 1715, but their daughter, Anne, was not born until 1725.

Philip Thomas was the eldest son of Samuel and Mary Hutchens Thomas. He lived at "Lebanon," seat of the Thomas family, which he inherited from his father who was a prominent Friend.³³ As early as August 4, 1686, a Herring Creek Quarterly Meeting approved the proposal of Samuel Thomas to attend a Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia.³⁴ On April 13, 1688, he was appointed a committee on "drowsiness" by the West River Friends Meeting—in other words, he was charged with keeping listeners awake during the services which often were long. In 1756 both his son, Philip, and his wife, Ann Chew, were known as ministers of the Society of Friends.³⁵ Philip Thomas had first married Frances Holland in March, 1721, the Meeting having given its consent on the third of that month.³⁶

Philip Thomas of "Lebanon" served long and with distinction in the Provincial government of Maryland.³⁷ On November 24, 1732, he was appointed a committee by the West River Meeting to prepare an address of welcome to Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore, upon his arrival in Maryland. At that time Thomas was a member of the Governor's Council.³⁸ Born on March 1, 1694, he died on November 23, 1762, and Ann, his second wife, died on May 20, 1777. Both were buried at the Old Quaker Burying Ground.³⁹

Two Ann Chews were listed as witnesses to the marriage ceremony of 1724. One was the sister of Samuel Chew II, and the other was a daughter of Nathaniel Chew, brother of Samuel III and Benjamin Chew. Both were aunts of the bride.⁴⁰ The second Ann's father, Nathaniel, and her mother, Mary, also were listed. Elizabeth Bond was the mother of Samuel Chew IV of "Maidstone," having married Richard Bond after the death of her first husband Benjamin Chew. Mary Galloway was the wife of John Galloway I, whose name also appeared. A son of this marriage, Samuel Galloway III, built "Tulip Hill." The Richard Galloway who also was named probably was Richard II to whom "Cedar Park" is credited.

A son of Kensey Johns, Kensey II, married Susannah Galloway in 1749, and was the first of that family to live at "Sudley." Richard and Priscilla Johns were man and wife, and Sarah Harrison probably was the former Sarah Hall who was the second wife of Samuel Harrison of "Holly Hill."

The eight Richardsons listed were all of the family of William Richardson I of West River. Margaret Johns married Gerrard Hopkins II in 1717. Both were witnesses. This is the line from which Johns Hopkins II descended. Margaret Hopkins was a sister of Kensey Johns I. In her will, which was probated on February 24, 1725, Elizabeth Talbott of West River named Elizabeth Smith as her daughter. Whether the Thomas Smith listed was her husband is a matter of conjecture.

Margaret Birkhead was the widow of Nehemiah Birkhead who died in 1720 and whose will was probated on May 18 of the same year. It is presumed that Elizabeth Birkhead was connected with the same family. Elizabeth Snowden was the daughter of Samuel and Mary Hutchins Thomas. She was born on December 28, 1697, and she married Richard Snowden on December 19, 1717. The John Thomas who witnessed the 1724 marriage was a brother of Elizabeth Snowden, who was born on April 15, 1697. Probably Sarah Locke (sic) was a daughter of William Lock, a physician of Anne Arundel County, who lived at "Lockeden," better known as the "Weems Property" on Old Sudley Road. Peter Sharp (sic) was from the Eastern Shore and was descended from Dr. Peter Sharpe of The Cliffs in Calvert County. Robert Roberts has been identified earlier. Elizabeth Holland was the wife of William Holland whose will was probated in Anne Arundel County on October 25, 1732. He was a descendant of Francis Holland, one of the founding Friends in the Herring Creek area.

At a Meeting in the home of Samuel Chew III in 1726, Richard Harrison II asked the Herring Creek Meeting for a recommendation of good standing as he desired to leave for Pennsylvania. Samuel

Gover and Isaac Johns were appointed a committee to draw the necessary document.⁴¹ In 1729 it was announced that collections of 11 pounds 16 shillings had been received from the West River Meeting and 6 pounds 15 shillings from The Cliffs and Herring Creek Meeting.⁴²

At a Quarterly Meeting at Herring Creek on the 6th day of the 3rd Month, 1730, Gerrard Hopkins and Mary Hill declared their intention to marry, as did Richard Richardson and Margaret Coale, and also Samuel Thomas and Mary Snowden.⁴³

The plot of ground upon which the Herring Creek Meeting House stood overlooked Herring Bay. The Sotzmann Map of Maryland and Delaware, dated 1797,⁴⁴ shows it as located in the northeast quadrant of the crossroads—the present State Routes 2 and 613—close to the village of Friendship and at the head of Cove Creek, a tributary of Herring Bay. It could have been reached from the bay by small boat up Cove Creek, and must have been easily accessible by land from the Old Severn Ridge Road, now State Route 2. Its exact type of construction is not known, but most likely it was a frame structure similar to the Meeting House at West River. It was used by Friends for over one hundred years, and later it served as a school, and as a church for other religious denominations. In a deed dated 1785, from a Colonel Samuel Chew to Joseph Camden and others, a property at Herring Creek was described in part as follows: “beginning at a locust post on the cross roads [Friendship] leading from the bay to the river Patuxent and thereon leading by the Quaker Meeting House.”⁴⁵ In 1812 the old structure was being used as a tobacco house so that it could not have been used for Meetings. At that time “there was hardly a Friend left in the area.”⁴⁶ A deed dated 1822 referred to a location “near the old Quaker Meeting House.”⁴⁷ And in 1831 a parcel of land was referred to as “lying between the Quaker Meeting House lot and the public road.”⁴⁸

After 1800 the Meeting House was not regularly used by Friends for any length of time. The diary of John Sellman⁴⁹ (1818-1872) recorded: “Sunday, Jan. 24th, 1820, went to Quaker Meeting House to assist in teaching school.” At that time Sellman was a member of St. James Protestant Episcopal Church, but is known to have had strong Methodist leanings. In 1821 he wrote: “Sunday, May 6th went to Quaker Meeting with Mr. Morton and heard Mr. Watkins preach.” N. I. Watkins was a Methodist minister. In another entry, dated Sunday, July 4, 1830, the diarist noted: “Mr. Chesley preached at Church [he was rector of St. James Protestant Episcopal Church] and at the Quaker Meeting House.” At that time, evidently the old Meeting House also was being used by Episcopalians. In 1838, Episcopal services also were held at the Methodist Church at Mt. Zion, while St. James Protestant Episcopal Church was being repaired.⁵⁰

The last reference to the Meeting House in the Sellman Diary was dated July 4, 1830. The years following that time and the advent of the Civil War probably saw the end of the building's use as a school and for religious services. The fate of the old structure is not known. According to local tradition, it succumbed to age and weather, and its foundations slowly disappeared in the marshy ground at the headwaters of Cove Creek. Today, some of its carefully preserved records and the fine Seventeenth Century dwelling of "Holly Hill," built nearby by Friends Richard and Samuel Harrison are the only reminders of the religious movement in the Herring Creek area and of the Herring Creek Meeting of Friends.

THE INDIAN SPRING MEETING *

The Indian Spring Meeting was organized before 1792 in the area of the Great Fork of the Patuxent River, in west central Anne Arundel County. It was used during the period of movement of Quakerism from early Meetings of Friends at West River and Herring Creek in the southern part of the county, towards the expanding centers of population to the north and west. Near the fine flowing Indian Spring from which the Meeting took its name, a stone Meeting House was built. It has been said that "water from this spring was always clear and cold, and its site so sheltered that even in January green ferns are found around it."¹ Because the Meeting attracted Friends from the entire Western Shore of the Chesapeake, and from as far north as Pennsylvania, a dependable supply of fresh water adjacent to the Meeting House was essential.

In the Great Fork area lived many prominent Quaker families who were descendants of the founders of the county and of those who helped to plant the Quaker way of life throughout the Province. Friends bearing such names as Anderson, Snowden, Hopkins, Cowman, Tyson, Waters and Thomas formed the nucleus of the Indian Spring Meeting. The sturdy Meeting House which they built had its side and end walls built of native field stone, its roof of wood shingle, and its gable ends of clapboard. It remained in use for more than a century.

In 1792, for a consideration of two pounds current money, John Snowden conveyed to John Cowman, Joseph Hopkins, and Samuel Snowden two acres of land out of "The Addition to Purdom's Discovery,"² on which the Indian Spring Meeting House now stands." In the same year, for a consideration of one pound, William Anderson conveyed to the same John Cowman, Joseph Hopkins, and Samuel Snowden, one acre of land out of the adjoining "Providence"³ where the spring was located. The three men took title to both properties as trustees for "the people called Quakers," the two conveyances being recorded on July 13, 1792.⁴

One hundred years later, on April 16, 1891, at the "yearly Meeting of Friends on Park Avenue, Baltimore, a body corporate of the State of Maryland," the same two parcels of land and appurtenances were sold to several trustees for the Zion African Methodist Episcopal Forks Church.⁵

* The site of the Meeting House can be reached by State Route 424, but permission to enter the Fort George G. Meade area must be obtained.

John Snowden, owner of the land on which the Meeting House was built, and who later sold it to the several trustees, was the youngest son of Richard and Elizabeth Thomas Snowden. Born about 1745, at the age of forty he married Rachel, daughter of Richard Hopkins.⁶ A daughter of this marriage, Anna Maria, became the wife of Joseph Hopkins, one of the Friends who, in 1792, took title to the two parcels of land for the Indian Spring Meeting.

William Anderson, who sold the acre of land on which was located Indian Spring, was a descendant of several of the Anne Arundel County founding families. He was the son of Edward and Susan Cheney Anderson, and he married Sarah Waters, daughter of Nathan Waters. The Waters family, many of whom were Friends, settled first at West River, but later became identified with the Forks area. William Anderson's mother, Susan or Susannah Cheney, was a daughter of Richard and Mary Cheney of the South River Hundred.⁷

Samuel Snowden, another of the trustees, was a cousin of John Snowden. Born in 1756, he was the third son of Samuel and Elizabeth Thomas Snowden. On December 1, 1796, he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Cowman, and he died on May 26, 1823.⁸

The third of the trustees, John Cowman, was the eldest son of Joseph and Sarah Cowman. Born in 1737, he married Sarah, daughter of Gerrard Hopkins II, on September 27, 1757, and he died on September 15, 1808.⁹

In 1833, long after the affairs of the West River Meeting had been assumed by the Baltimore Meeting, Anne Pemberton, then of Philadelphia, owner of the land surrounding the Old Quaker Burying Ground at West River, executed a deed conveying that hallowed spot to certain trustees of the Indian Spring Meeting. The deed was to Samuel Snowden, John Cowman, and John Chew Thomas, and their

heirs and assigns . . . in trust nevertheless for the Society of Friends belonging to the Indian Spring monthly meeting in the State of Maryland, for a meeting house and burial ground or such other uses as the Indian Spring Monthly Meeting shall by minute thereof direct and appoint, but for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.¹⁰

Nothing in the records indicates that the Indian Spring Monthly Meeting took more than a supervisory interest in the Burying Ground at West River, the control of which soon passed out of the hands of the Society of Friends.

The Samuel Snowden named in the 1833 deed as a trustee of the Old Quaker Burying Ground at West River was a son of Samuel and Elizabeth Cowman Snowden. Born on September 13, 1800, he died

without issue.¹¹ Born on March 17, 1798, the John Cowman also named was a son of John and Sarah Hopkins Cowman.¹²

The third trustee named in the 1833 deed which placed the management and supervision of the Old Quaker Burying Ground with the Indian Spring Meeting, was John Chew Thomas. He was a birthright Quaker, directly descended from Philip Thomas, one of Maryland's founding Friends. Born on October 15, 1764, he was the fourth son of Samuel and Mary Thomas.¹³ He died at his residence at Leiperville, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, on May 10, 1836.¹⁴ His father, the eldest son of Philip Thomas by his second wife, Ann Chew, married secondly on October 23, 1750, his cousin, Mary, daughter of Samuel and Mary Snowden Thomas, an action for which he was disowned by the Society on February 23, 1759. However, the couple acknowledged their error, and a certificate of transfer from the West River Meeting to the Nottingham Meeting in Cecil County was given them on April 27, 1759, before the birth of John Chew, their fourth son.¹⁵

John Chew Thomas entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1780 and was graduated in 1783 with a Master's degree. He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar on December 15, 1787, and took active interest in politics. On September 18, 1788, he married Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Richard and Elizabeth Rutland Snowden. For many years thereafter he resided at the Snowden plantation, "Fairland," near the Indian Spring Meeting House. As a member of the Federal Party, he represented Maryland in Congress from 1799 to 1801 during which period he participated in the election of Thomas Jefferson as President. Following his marriage to Mary Snowden in 1788, he was disowned by the Society of Friends for marrying out of the Meeting. Also, he had failed to manumit his slaves in accordance with the 1777 edict of the West River Yearly Meeting of Friends. However, at the Indian Spring Monthly Meeting held at Sandy Spring on June 21, 1811, Mary Snowden Thomas and her six children, Henrietta, John, Richard, Henry, Samuel and Julia requested that "they be received as members of the Society." It has been said that Stephen Grellet, a Quaker messenger, made such an impression upon Mary Snowden Thomas that she joined the Society of Friends. Grellet did visit Indian Springs in 1809. Writing in that year he noted that: "We proceeded through Elkridge, Sandy Spring, Indian Springs and Annapolis."¹⁶ The mother and her children were admitted September 20, 1811, after a Committee of Friends visited the family on July 19, 1811, and her husband had given his consent.¹⁷ In the following year John Chew Thomas manumitted his slaves on February 12, 1812, and on April 11 applied for reinstatement in the Society. He was admitted before August 7 of the same year, and on February 21, 1817, he was appointed clerk of the

Indian Spring Meeting. Later, he and his family moved to Leiperville, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, where he attended the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting until his death in 1836.¹⁸

A letter written by Anthony Morris of Philadelphia to his daughter, Rebecca, from "Fairland," the seat of John Chew Thomas, gives some insight into the life on that plantation, as well as a glimpse of a visit by Morris to the White House which he referred to as the "palace" and to Dolley Madison.¹⁹

Fairland seat of John C. Thomas Esq.
Maryland Sunday April 28th, 1812

My darling Rebecca

I have been here since Thursday last, and intended to proceed home, if I find Phebe disenchanted. The charm and novelty the fascination of elegant society, even the splendour of the palace with all its attendant external and interior beauties will, I hope, soon yield to the natural joys and pleasures of domestic peace and love; but the almost maternal affection with which Mrs. Madison has accompanied her elegant attentions, will not be, nor do I wish them, so easily relinquished nor eradicated from her mind.

In the society of my old friend Mr. Thomas, the companion of my youthful days, and of his very amiable and interesting wife, a sensible, cheerful and religious Woman, I have found a source of much consolation and feel in better health & spirits than I have of late years been accustomed to enjoy. Their civilities—and without constraint or ceremony—, and their state of living—plain, plentiful, and novel (besides the usual Philadelphia breakfast we have *hominny*, pone bread & corn cakes), all of which I find conducive to health. I went with them this morning to Friends Meeting at Indian Springs, the congregation at which was composed of about 30 or 40 persons, at which the silence and solemnity, added to the fatigue of a short ride on horseback, compelled no interrupted sleep, from which I was awakened by the breaking up of the meeting. Among the pleasures that my return to Washington promises is that of receiving a letter from Thee. Today I expect Brother, Louisa & Thyself are together & as happy as you can be—is the wish of

yr most affec Father A. M.

The adjacent sites of the Meeting House and of the Indian Spring are now within the military reservation of Fort George G. Meade. The stone foundation of the Meeting House and the spring, surrounded by banks of ferns, still may be seen.²⁰ Nearby are also the remains of the foundation of what is believed to have been an old Anderson house.

How long the Indian Spring Meeting functioned after 1836 is not known. The Civil War period probably saw the last organized Quaker Meeting in Anne Arundel County. The Meeting House was used as

a school for some time and also as a church for colored families. Soon after 1891, when the title passed to the trustees of the Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church, the old fieldstone structure was partially razed. The foundation of the Meeting House and about two feet of the stone walls were left intact and upon these were built the new frame Forks Church. When the area was acquired by the government in the 1940s that structure was lifted from its foundation and moved to a new site about a half mile outside of the reservation. However, the roots of the old Indian Spring Quaker Meeting House cling tenaciously to its original site and Indian Spring flows on.

ELIZABETH HARRIS

Until recently little has been known of the life and travels of Elizabeth Harris, Maryland's first messenger of Truth. Through concentrated research, however, progress is being made and bits of information are being fitted together to give a more complete picture of that dedicated woman.

It is believed that Elizabeth Harris married William Harris of London at St. Mary's Abchurch in 1649.¹ Apparently she did not join the Friends of Truth until after that year. Although the place and date of her conviction in Quakerism is still obscure, it is known that she left England for the New World, in 1655, as a messenger of Truth. Soon after her return in 1657, she again went beyond the seas, traveling to Venice with Elizabeth Cowart and on to the Middle East.² In 1660 she was back in England. A letter to George Fox from John Stubbs in that year relates:

Here is [in London] Elizabeth Harris, who sometimes goes forth to steeple houses in sackcloth and she hath much peace in this service; there was some seemed rather against it which troubled her a little. She spoke to me with many tears about it several weeks ago and I said I thought I might write to thee about it and she desired I might. After she had been in Cambridge it came to her she must go to Manchester the Sixth Month and so she would be glad to have a line or two from thee about it before she go as soon as can be, the time draws near for her passing.³

Thus, in 1660, this deeply religious Friend was continuing the planting of Quakersim in England.

Two years later William Harris, husband of Elizabeth Harris, was granted a tract of land in Anne Arundel County.⁴ Known as "Harris's Mount," it was near the scenes of Elizabeth Harris' earlier labors, for it was situated "near the head of Acton Creek," in the Middle Neck Hundred, between the headwaters of that creek, now called Spa Creek, and Crab Creek, a tributary of South River. This would be in the general area of the intersection of State Routes 665 and 387.

The description of the metes and bounds of "Harris's Mount" discloses that it adjoined both "Brushy Neck,"⁵ the property of John Baldwin,⁶ already referred to as one of Maryland's first Quakers, and the property of Robert Clarkson, writer of the 1657 letter. William Harris died before April 11, 1670, the day on which his will was probated.⁷ The wording of that document follows:

The last will and testimony of William Harris being sick and weake but of perfect memory:

Imprimis, if in case that Elizabeth Harris the wife of William Harris do depart this life before me—

First I give and bequeath unto Jonathan Neale my hundred acres of land lying at the head of Actons Creek called Harrises Mount. Next I give and bequeath unto Margaret Hawkins the younger my cow called Charity and my hundred of acres of land after the decease of Jonathan Neale to fall to the said Margaret Hawkings. Then I give unto my sister Bird in England five pounds sterling if in case she be in the body and if not then that five pounds and five pounds more to be delivered to Garrot Roberts to be disposed amongst poor friends as he shall see fitt.

Then I give unto Elizabeth Beasley my wife's best cloath wast coate and one serge pettycoat and one red cloath pettycoate and three shifts and one pair of shoes and my best green apron. Then I give unto Margaret the widow that lives at Henry Pierpoints one pettycoate and wast coate, one hatt, one apron and one shift. Then I give unto Alexander Gardner my best cloath suite of cloaths And also I give William Reids Daughter Elizabeth Reid one cow calfe that was fallen [born] this year 1669 and to my own sister Alis Curtis I give one pair of cordivant gloves living at the Signe of the Sugar Loafe at the end of Clements Lane without Temple Barr.

Also I give unto John Meares one cow called Hopewell and I make Jonathan Neale and John Meares my full and whole Executors to see this my will performed.

Now in case it pleaseth God my wife Elizabeth Harris live longer than I do make this my last will null and voyd and I also make her my full and whole Executor and to give unto her all my Land Cattols and goods with all things I possess and enjoy in as full power and authority as I myself do enjoy them for her to dispose of them as she shall think fitt—Witness my hand this twentieth day of September 1669.

William Harris

11th of April 1670. The above written last will and statement of William Harris deceased was by the oathes of Thomas Philips and Daniel Edge Witnesses thereunto in comon forme proved before me the day and year aforesaid.

Will. Calvert

It is highly probable that the Elizabeth Harris mentioned in the will was the Publisher of Truth to whom Robert Clarkson wrote from the Severn in 1657, and that the William Harris who signed the will was the "dear husband" referred to in the Clarkson letter. Jonathan Neale, the chief beneficiary under the will, was a Friend,⁸ and he was a witness to the will of Robert Clarkson on December 5, 1665.⁹

Margaret Hawkings (Hawkins) was the daughter of Ralph Hawkins, Sr., also a Friend.¹⁰ Hawkins was a well known Quaker name.¹¹

Garrot (Gerrard) Roberts, referred to in the will, wrote to George Fox about Elizabeth Harris upon her return from Mayland in 1657.¹² Elizabeth Beasley, one of the first Friends in Maryland, was mentioned by Robert Clarkson in his letter to Elizabeth Harris in 1657. Henry Pierpont, who owned land¹³ near "Harris's Mount," was also associated with Maryland Quakerism.¹⁴ Probably Alexander Gardner was a close Friend and neighbor, for he was to receive "my best cloath suite of cloaths," William Reid (Read), whose daughter Elizabeth, was a beneficiary, was a Quaker,¹⁵ and John Meares, who was not only mentioned in the will but was named executor, was from a family of Friends.¹⁶ With other Quakers he was a witness in 1669 to the will of Richard Preston, "the great Quaker."¹⁷

While the will of William Harris tends to establish the identity of Elizabeth Harris as Maryland's first Publisher of Truth, it sheds no light upon her whereabouts in 1669. From William Harris' provision "if in case . . . Elizabeth Harris do depart this life before me" following his statement that he was "sick and weake," one might surmise that he was uncertain of his wife's whereabouts and the state of her health. The fact that he possessed some of her best clothes would indicate that she came to Maryland with her husband after 1660—at which time she was known to have been in England—and possibly had departed the Province before 1669, the date of the will. Furthermore, as indicated by the following record, there is reason to believe that she may have been imprisoned in England from 1665 to 1672:

At a session held at Northampton Castle on the 4th and 6th days of the month called April Anno 1665 five of the people called Quakers received sentence of bannishment to Jamaica, on conviction of the third offence in Meeting together for religious worship namely—William Robinson, Richard Parsons, John Coory [Cary] and Elizabeth Harris.¹⁸

In 1672 there is an account that fourteen Quakers including an Elizabeth Harris

were set at liberty from their long and grievous confinement in Northampton Gaol where some had laid under the dismal sentence of Transportation between seven and eight years but none less than six years.¹⁹

These records, then, may hold the key to the whereabouts of Elizabeth Harris at the time of her husband's death.

It is known that Maryland's first Friend survived her husband and claimed her right to his estate. That she married James Warner before 1673 is proved by the following:

This Indenture made [August 4] 1674 between Elizabeth Warner Ann Arundell River in the County of Ann Arundell in the Province of Maryland. Widdow and Relict of James Warner late deceased of the one-part and John Sumerland of the River County and Provinces aforesaid Planter of the other parte. . . . Whereas Lord Baltimore did grant unto William Harris all that parcell of land containing 100 acres lying in Ann Arundell County, and called Harris's Mount . . . said one hundred acres of land is since come unto the said James Warner according to the rights of the said Elizabeth [Harris] his wife, who is now reinvested in the same by the death of her said husband [James Warner]. Now this Indenture witnesseth that the said Elizabeth for and in consideration of four thousand pounds of good sound merchantable tobacco in casque to her the said Elizabeth in hand already paid and delivered by the said John Sumerland before the ensealing and delivery of these presents whereof and whenever the said Elizabeth doth acknowledge herself to be wholly and fully satisfied and paid. . . .²⁰

From this deed it is evident that Elizabeth Harris claimed her inheritance under William Harris' will soon after 1670 when it was probated. Upon her marriage to James Warner of nearby "Warner Neck,"²¹ "Harris's Mount," passed to him, according to the law at that time. At the death of James Warner in 1673, however, she became reinvested in the property and sold it to John Sumerland.²²

After 1674 information about Elizabeth Harris Warner is somewhat confused. It is known that she was involved in a dispute with her stepdaughter Johanna Sewell, regarding her life estate in the property of her late husband, James Warner. There is also evidence that an Elizabeth Harris, "residence London, a traveling minister, residence in America, Maryland," had interests in West New Jersey between 1677 and 1689.²³ If this person was Maryland's first Publisher of Truth, she was using her first husband's name.

While there were no children of the marriage of Elizabeth and William Harris, the fact has been discovered that a child was born to Elizabeth Harris Warner after the death of James Warner in 1673. A Samuel Howard, son of Matthew and Ann Howard, was born in Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, and he migrated to Maryland about 1659 with his brothers and sisters. He married Catherine, the daughter of James and Elizabeth Harris Warner, and was one of the pioneers in the South River Hundred.²⁴ In 1703 Samuel Howard left to his wife, Catherine, the plantation "Brushy Neck" which adjoined "Harris's Mount," formerly her mother's property.²⁵ Interestingly, too, Catherine Warner Howard, the widow, married Thomas Tolly on November 6, 1706.²⁶ Probably he was the son of the Thomas Tolly mentioned in the Hart-Harris-Clarkson letter of 1657. There seems to be no further record of the actions of Elizabeth Harris Warner, nor is there a will or notice of her death.

In returning to Maryland after 1660, Elizabeth Harris chose to settle in the area of her earlier labors. James Warner, her second husband, must have become an early friend, for in 1656 she had convinced his first wife, Ann, as one of Maryland's first Quakers. So, while the last years of the life of Elizabeth Harris Warner still are obscure, it would be fitting if her remains lie in an unmarked grave beside those of some of Maryland's founding Friends. That grave could be in the old Quaker Burying Ground at West River.

THE DECLINE OF QUAKERISM

From 1656, soon after the erection of Anne Arundel County, until well into the Eighteenth Century, Quakerism flourished and Friends were powerful. In that area today it is almost forgotten. The Meetings and Meeting Houses at West River, Herring Creek and Indian Springs have disappeared, the closest ones now being at Sandy Spring, Montgomery County, at Baltimore City, and at Third Haven, Talbot County, on the Eastern Shore. Several fine Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century houses, which were built and lived in by founding Friends, remain in the county, but only the Old Quaker Burying Ground at West River retains the word "Quaker" as part of a proper name. These are the sole reminders of the era that saw the first planting of Quakerism on the mainland of the New World and the first General Meeting of Friends in Maryland.

Historians have minimized the extent and overlooked the great influence of the Quaker movement in the early development of the county. Only original records, here and in England, connect that important era with the present Society of Friends. The question arises: What happened to the movement that dominated much of the county throughout the Seventeenth and part of the Eighteenth centuries?

It has been shown that Quaker strength in Anne Arundel County gradually concentrated south of the Severn River. In alternate years all Friends in the Province gathered at West River for the Yearly Meeting. A letter from William Richardson of West River to George Fox in London, dated 1681, and previously quoted, reveals the sympathetic relationship between the Friends and Charles, Lord Baltimore at that time. Quakers were appreciative of the efforts of the proprietor in securing some relief from taking oaths in testamentary cases, in 1688. In 1689 when rumors were rampant to the effect that Papists and thousands of Indians were massed at Patuxent for the purpose of massacring all Protestants, the Quakers of Anne Arundel joined with other Friends in a statement that such tales were "utterly false."¹

Beginning in 1692, when attempts were made to establish the Church of England in the Province, Quakers bitterly opposed the public tax of forty pounds of tobacco per poll for the maintenance and support of that church. In fact, Dr. Thomas Bray, the first commissary, acting for the Bishop of London, declared that Quakers were the most obstructive force against the enactment and enforcement of such a law.² The Quaker position was stated in their protest:

The next thing we have at this time to lay before you, is the suffering we are under by reason of a late Act which enjoins to pay a certain tax towards the building of Churches (so called) and maintaining of those called Ministers, which for pure confidence to God we can not do, but must for ever bear our testimony against all such as preach for hire, knowing that the Ministers of Christ never preached any such thing; by reason of which we suffer and our goods are seized and taken from us, that otherwise would be for the support of our families. . . .³

Friends in both the New World and England continued their bitter opposition to the Maryland church law until 1702, when it was finally ratified by the English Crown.⁴ During that period Friends in Anne Arundel County seemed to have been as well informed as the Governor of the Province regarding the status of the various church laws and the crown's approval or disapproval of them.

After calling a council to be held at the Town and Port of Annapolis, April 4, 1700, Governor Nathaniel Blackiston explained its purpose as follows:

That Monday the 25th of March last being on the road near South River in company with His Excellency Coll. Nicholson his majesties Governor of Virginia he met with Mr. Samuel Chew, Richard Johns, Samuel Galloway and Nehemiah Burkett [Birkhead] who gave him a certain order under seal of his Majesties Council;—" His Majesty in Council is pleased to signify the disapproval and disallowance of the said laws the last of several to establish the Church of England in Maryland and according to his Majesties pleasure the said laws are hereby repealed and declared void and of none effect 30th of November 1700." ⁵

Evidently the powerful Quakers had received advices directly from England before the resident Governor of Maryland was officially notified.

Ironically, too, about this time at Dr. Bray's conference with his Maryland clergy in Annapolis, a contribution was made for the first missionary effort of the Church. It was directed that the twenty-five pounds sterling subscribed be used "for the support of a Missionary among the Quakers of Philadelphia." There was no mention of Maryland Friends.

The Quaker opposition to the church laws led to some verbal clashes between members of the West River Meeting and a clergyman of the Church of England from a nearby parish. One such dispute occurred at the West River Meeting House in 1699. Thomas Story, a visiting Friend, recorded it in his *Journal* as follows:

On the 13th day of the 4th month came Henry Hall [first minister to

Herring Creek Parish] to West River, a Priest of the Church of England, and with others of his notion eyes dropped the Meeting, but came not in. Richard Johns, a prominent member of the Meeting, then rose and made the following confession of faith:—"We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ who was born of the Virgin Mary being conceived by the promise and influence of the Holy Ghost, is the true Messiah or Saviour that he died upon the cross at Jerusalem a propitiation and sacrifice for the sins of all mankind; that he rose again from the dead on the third day ascended and seated on the right hand of the Majesty on high making intercession for us; and in the fullness of time shall come to judge both the living and the dead and reward all according to their work."

The next day the clergyman and his friends again came near the Meeting and Thomas Story continued:

My companion in his testimony apprehending they were within hearing cried aloud to them to come forth out of their holes and appear openly like men and if they had anything to say after the Meeting was over they would be heard. Many people called out to the clergymen "We will pay you the tobacco being obliged by law that is forty pounds for every negro slave but we will hear you no more." While we were yet in the gallery one climbed up into a window and cried out in a loud voice to Henry Hall, "Sir, you have broken a canon of the Church, you have baptised several negroes who being infidels baptism ought not to have been administered to them." At this the Priest was enraged and made no answer to the charges only fumed and fretted and threatened the man to trounce him. I observed to the people that if negroes were made Christians in the sense members of Christ, Children of God, inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven, received into the body of the Church of Christ as the language is at the time of sprinkling, how could they now detain them longer as slaves. Several justices of the peace, being ashamed of their priest, slid out of the meeting as unobservant as might be and the people in general continued them as such who behind the back of Quakers had greatly reproached and belied them but face to face were utterly subdued by them. That night several of the Justices lodging with our friend Samuel Chew expressed their sentiments altogether in our favor, and the priests were really ignorant men in matters of religion.⁶

At the time of this occurrence there was no church law of establishment in Maryland, although parishes had been laid out and taxes levied. It was the opinion of the clergy of Maryland who had come to the Province after their living had been promised, that "could the Quakers clear themselves of the 40 pounds of tobacco per poll, the Papists might all pretend to do so too."⁷ At that time the ratio of Protestants to Roman Catholics in the Province was, perhaps, twenty or thirty to one.

During the period of 1698 to 1702, when the establishment of the

Church of England in Maryland still hung in the balance, English Friends sent a number of Publishers of Truth to labor in Anne Arundel County. According to the records they usually travelled in pairs. Among them were William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson; Roger Gill and Thomas Story; Griffith Owen and Robert Gove; John Fothergill and William Armistead; and Samuel Bownas. All left accounts of their journeys. In 1698 the vestry of St. James (Herring Creek) Parish was ordering, "That ye Church Wardens give notice to ye constables and other persons within the Parish, except Quakers, to come to church every Sabbath Day,"⁸ and William Ellis was writing to his wife from the West River Yearly Meeting that "Many of the great men of the country came and several priests and the Governor."⁹

On July 30, 1694, a report to Governor Nicholson showed that four Church of England parishes had been laid out in Anne Arundel County—Herring Creek, South River, Middle Neck and Broad Neck. No church had been built and there were no ministers.¹⁰ In 1698 in a religious census made of all Quakers and other Protestant dissenters, the report for the county showed that while there were no priests or lay brothers, six Quaker Meeting Places existed. This was more than in any other county in the Province and, since the Meeting Places were all in the southern part of the county, the concentration of Quaker strength in that area is apparent.

The six sites were the Meeting House at West River for the Yearly Meetings, the houses of William Richardson I and Richard Galloway II, for Monthly and Weekly Meetings, and the house of Samuel Chew at Herring Bay for Quarterly Meetings. Weekly and Monthly Meetings were held at the houses of John Belt near the Patuxent River, just north of present State Route 214 on property now called "Velmead," and at the house of Ann Lumbolt (Lambert) "near the head of South River" the exact location of which has not been found. It has been said that the Herring Creek Meeting House also was in use at this time. However, nothing in the 1699 deed to the one and four-tenths acres of land indicates that a structure was there.¹¹

The conscientious inability of Quakers to swear upon oath caused them much trouble and embarrassment during the latter half of the Seventeenth Century. Maryland Friends adhered to the admonition of the Bible, "Do not swear at all. . . . Let what you say be simply 'Yes' or 'No'; anything more than this comes from evil."¹² At the first opportunity after the restoration of 1658, the Maryland Assembly favored Quakers by providing a form for their use instead of the usual oath of fidelity. Some subscribed to the mild statement, but others, including Thomas Thurston and Josiah Coale, renounced and disowned it.¹³ This was one of the main reasons why they were asked

to leave the Province—not because they were Quakers, but because they would not subscribe to the following simple statement of fidelity to the proprietor:

I, A. B. do promise and engage to submit to the authority of the Right Honorable Cecelius, Lord Baltimore and his heirs within the Province of Maryland according to his patent of the said Province and to his present Lieutenant and other officers here by his Lordship appointed to whom I will be aiding and assisting and will not obey or assist here in opposition to them.¹⁴

Another reason for the decline of Quakerism in Anne Arundel County came from within the movement itself. About 1702, when Friends had won a measure of toleration after a ten-year fight, “Discipline among a peculiar people tended to replace the expansive evangelism of the early years.”¹⁵ In other words, the Quaker movement seemed to lose its momentum and to begin to turn inward with increased emphasis upon discipline and humility.

Still another reason for the weakening of Quakerism came from within its own Meetings. The position of Friends against the ownership of slaves placed a heavy burden upon those members of the Society who were planters of tobacco. The planting, growing and handling of tobacco required a great amount of hand work, which could only be accomplished by slave labor. Although a planter's wealth was frequently determined by the number of slaves that he owned, slavery and the basic tenets of Quakerism never were in harmony. Some Friends apparently justified the custom on the ground that unbaptized slaves were not Christians and, therefore, could be held in bondage.¹⁶ But as early as 1671, George Fox wrote, “Train them up in the fear of God and eventually set them free.”¹⁷

Real pressure against the ownership of slaves in Maryland started in northern areas where the practice was not a prime economic factor. At first, the Maryland Meetings issued mild advices against the use of slaves, but with each year the pronouncements became more urgent. Finally, in 1759, Maryland Friends began to face the issue squarely. “Are Friends careful of importing or buying negros and doe they use them well as they are possessed by inheritance or otherwise endeavoring to trane them up in the principles of Christian religion?”¹⁸ they asked. In 1762 the Yearly Meeting at West River concluded that it was the members' “solid judgment that no member of our Society shall be concerned in importing or buying negros nor selling without consent and approbation of the Monthly Meeting they belong to.”¹⁹ Not until 1777, however, did the Maryland Society of Friends take the final step and outlaw slavery completely by stating, “It is our solid

sense and judgment of the [Yearly] Meeting that the Continuing practice is become burthensome that such persons must be disunited from our religious Society.”²⁰ The New England Meeting had been the first to adopt such a measure in 1770. Philadelphia had followed in 1776, North Carolina had declared against slavery in 1777, and Virginia Quakers were to follow in 1784.²¹ In 1788 the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, successor to the West River Yearly Meeting, declared, “Friends seem to be clear of holding slaves.”²²

During the Eighteenth Century many Quaker planters of Anne Arundel County were separated from the Meetings at West River and Herring Creek. Some embraced the Church of England which they were required by law to support. This was particularly true of those whose forebears had been members of that church. Others simply withdrew from the Meetings, but continued to call themselves Quakers and adopted no other religious affiliation. A few who had grown prosperous became out of harmony with Quakerism because they refused to live in the humility and discipline of the movement. Others moved to the northward and westward to follow the doctrine of the Inward Light.

Beginning in the last decade of the Seventeenth Century, many of the descendants of founding Friends began to leave southern Anne Arundel County. Some went only a short distance to the Great Fork of the Patuxent where the later Indian Spring Meeting was settled. Others moved to what is now Prince George’s and Montgomery counties to form the nucleus of the present Sandy Spring Meeting. The area around what is now Towson attracted some, while others became members of the Gunpowder, Monocacy and, later the Woodensburg Meetings. Among these were members of the Waters, Thomas, Hooker, Lane, Matthews and Richardson families.²³

By the mid-Eighteenth Century, the movement of these younger generations had become pronounced. The records of the Nottingham Meeting reveal many familiar names. William Coale and Sarah Giles, both of Deer Creek, were married at Deer Creek in 1735, and some of the witnesses were Cassandra Coale, Jacob Giles, Skipwith Coale and Nathan Rigbee. Samuel Gover, late of Herring Creek in “Anna-Rundell,” and Hannah Webster were married at Bush River in 1741, and among the witnesses were Edward Talbott, Nathan Richardson and Csandra Johns. Nathan Rigbee and Sarah Giles, both of Baltimore County, became man and wife in 1747, with Richard Johns, William and Skipwith Coale and Jacob Giles appearing as witnesses. Other names found in the Nottingham records are Benjamin Chew, Jr., Margaret and Joseph Hopkins, Margaret Paca and Priscilla Johns.²⁴ Most of these young Friends were from Anne Arundel County. While

there seems to have been no general movement to the north and west, the migration did occur in a gradual but sustained fashion, and it helps to account for the serious weakening and final demise of the West River, Herring Creek and Indian Spring Meetings.

The slow decline of Quakerism in Anne Arundel County is revealed through a series of reports by traveling Friends who visited Old Quaker Burying Ground and the site of the Herring Creek Meeting through the Eighteenth and early part of the Nineteenth centuries. In his *Journal*, Samuel Bownas recorded a visit to the West River Yearly Meeting in 1726:

The Yearly Meeting in Maryland now came on which held four days viz three for worship and one for business. Many people resort to it and transact a deal of trade one with the other so that it is a kind of market or exchange where Captains of ships and planters meet and settle their affairs. And this draws abundance of people of the best rank to it, being it is what is called Whitsunweek.²⁵

A year earlier the General Assembly had enacted a law prohibiting the sale of liquor within two miles of the West River Meeting House.²⁶ The intent of the law remained in effect until 1962. That a drastic change had occurred by 1766 is evident from the *Journal* of John Griffith, a traveling Friend, who wrote: "We got to the West River Meeting on the first day (Sunday). We found little if anything in that Meeting of that simplicity and self denial so conspicuous in our ancients; but a conformatry to the fashions and corrupt customs of a vain world."²⁷

About 1785, the West River Yearly Meeting was taken over by the group which became the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends.²⁸ In 1797 Richard Jordon, another traveling Friend, visited West River. His nostalgic referenece to Old Quaker Meeting and Burying Ground projects a pathetic picture of the one time stronghold of Friends:

And on our way back attended another at West River where Friends are so reduced in numbers that no regular Meeting is held, though formerly it was the place of their Yearly Meeting. Here I was baptized for the little remnant left under our name and had to mourn as over the city of their fathers sepulchers which seemed to lay without walls, gates or bars and encouraging them to arise if possible and endeavor to rebuild them, that they might not be exposed to the incursions of their potent enemies which had almost brought desolation upon the place. They seemed much affected with the visit and with the testimony of truth at that time. I wish they may profit under it for I believe some of them were made sensible that it was a fresh visitation to a declining people.²⁹

The last visitation was by Joseph Hoag whose record is dated West River, November 3, 1812. He related:

On the 29th we attended an appointed meeting in a village called Friendship where there was a large meeting house owned by Friends [Herring Creek Meeting House], but not a member living in that part of the country. The inhabitants had filled it with tobacco and on that account the Methodist offered us their's, which was large; and accommodated an abundance of people who came to the meeting. The arm of the Lord was felt to be strong this day, and a wide field of labor opened before me. I had to show the pernicious effects of slavery on the offspring of slave-holders, and its open violation of all that is right in a Gospel point of view. I had not witnessed the power of Gospel authority so to rise into dominion over all opposition for many days. It was the Lord's doings, to whom the Glory belongs. From this place we went to attend an appointed Meeting near West River where Friends once held their Yearly Meeting for Maryland. We found it a desolate spot, the Meeting House almost rotted down—the grave yard lying common and briars and bushes growing over the bones of the dead and many of the graves rooted down with swine so that mournful were my feelings and heavy was my heart. I could but exclaim "how the earth mounts with a dreary face and refuses to smile upon the dead who marred the beauty by oppression." We had a little Meeting there and departed.³⁰

Many other Friends came to southern Anne Arundel County between 1702 and the time of the Civil War, but left no account of their visits. Yet many Quakers, still fired with the zeal of the movement, continued to labor for the cause. The *Journal of Esther Palmer*, dated 1705, is one of many to reveal such outstanding service in Maryland: ³¹

We rode 40 miles to the Susquehanna Ferry thro mercy gott well over and lodged at ye house of Thomas Brown 3 miles on the maryland side ye ferry. No Friends but treated very kindly; Rode 30 miles to one Wm. Pickets a lawyer Thomas Story being with us we had a Meeting there on ye 4th day. Ye people behaved themselves very civilly. We went after Meeting to Jno Hayes High Sheriff. Next day twelve miles to Pattapsco ferry. About a mile over ye ferry and a mile to the Meeting House. Lodged at Richard Cromwells. Next day 30 miles from Pattapsco to Doct. Moores [on South River]. 1st day we were at West River 5 miles and stayed at Samuel Galloways. Then to Richard Snowdens [Great Fork of Patuxent] the 2nd day. Then to Samuel Galloways [West River] 12 miles the third day. Then to Meeting at Herring Creek 8 miles from Samuel Galloways the 4th day. After to Phillip Coales [part of "Portland Manor"] being 4 miles from the Meeting House. On the next day to ye Cliffs 12 miles from Philip Coales, 5th day. After to Richard Johns 4 miles from Meeting House 6th day. 7th day to Daniel Rawlings 25 miles from Richard Johns at

Patuxent 2 miles from Daniel Rawlings. Next day to Widdow Hutchins 25 miles from Meeting. Next day to Patuxent ferry 2 miles.

Soon afterward the traveling Friends crossed the Potomac and spent some time in Virginia. Upon their return to Maryland Esther Palmer's *Journal* recorded:

. . . We got over the Patuxent 3 miles to Widdow Hutchins. Rode 40 miles to honest R. Johns 3rd day to 5th day. Went 28 miles to Meeting at West River 5 to 6th days. Lodged at Samuel Galloways. On 6th day after Meeting went 10 miles to Samuel Chews at Herring Creek. Went 14 miles to R. Johns and was at ye Cliffs Meeting House 4 miles from R. Johns where we mostly lodged. While that way on the 2nd day went 5 miles to visit a friend and lodged at Abram Johns. Then went to Herring Creek 14 miles: to Richard Harrisons 4 miles: and 8 miles to the West River Meeting.

From the West River Meeting the party went two miles to Samuel Thomas' at "Lebanon." On the sixth day they went to Doctor Moore's, eight miles. On the seventh day to Patapsco thirty miles, hence to Richard Snowden's twenty-eight miles, back to Doctor Moore's, on South River, ten miles and then to Herring Creek Meeting fifteen miles. The next entry took them another fifteen miles back to Doctor Moore's. To have covered about four hundred miles in such a short time, with but meagre food and no thought of material compensation and in a land where there were virtually no roads, makes our present day missionary efforts seem mild. The early Quakers planted the theory of the Inward Light deeply and extensively.

Another blow to the influence of Quakerism came with the advent of Methodism during the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century. Particularly after the disestablishment of the Church of England in the Province, the missionaries of John Wesley swept through southern Anne Arundel and Calvert counties making converts and building meetings houses of their own. Some descendants of the Quaker founders embraced the new faith—indeed, by 1789 the Calvert circuit of Methodism, which included southern Anne Arundel County, was the largest in the United States.³² The missionary zeal of these people matched the heroic efforts of the early Quaker Publishers of Truth.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the influence of Quakerism in the founding and development of the county was extensive and profound. From the time of the first convincements through most of the Eighteenth Century, many family names of the founders are revealed in Quaker records. Some of those names are: Baldwin, Dorsey, Howard, Harris, Pierpont, Neale, Clarkson, Maccubbin, Warner, Beasley, Wyatt, Homewood, Woolchurch, Marsh, Fuller, Durand, Beard, Hill, Covell, Moore, Larkin, Snowden, Belt, Lumbott, Cowman, Sparrow, Hooker,

Arnold, Giles, Waters, White, Galloway, Richardson, Thomas, Parrish, Talbott, Battey (Battee), Skipwith, Chew, Burrage, Smith, Hall, Billingsley, Birkhead, Holland, Harrison, Ayres, Ford, Gover, Rigbee, Johns, Sharpe, Gary, Royston, Hutchens, Preston, Rawlings, Young, Berry, Mears, Hance, Lawrence, Hillen, Hopkins, Bond, Locke, Childs, Roberts, Evans, Tench, Scrivener, Lane, Heathcote, Knightson, Hanslap, Webb, Pardoe, and many others.

In 1922 the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, successor to the West River Yearly Meeting, celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its beginning in 1672. It is the third oldest Yearly Meeting of Friends in the world. Representatives from Meetings throughout the United States as well as from the London Yearly Meeting attended. In the climax on May 6, 1922, four hundred and twenty-five of those participating came by boat from Baltimore to Galesville on the West River and trekked to the nearby Old Quaker Burying Ground. As described by one present, "When they were gathered there in the grove on the very spot where George Fox and other Friends had met to worship God, a silence fell upon the company indicative of the feeling of awe that the place inspired." A memorial tree was planted. The noted Quaker historians Rufus M. Jones, Dr. O. Edward Janney and Dr. Elbert Russell were present.³³

Finally, on August 16 and 17, 1952, the people of Galesville and vicinity commemorated the three hundredth anniversary of the laying out of "Brownton," the original tract on which the village and the Old Quaker Burying Ground are located.³⁴ In an historical pageant, one hundred and twenty-five residents of the area, dressed in colonial costume, helped to re-enact the first General Meeting for all Friends in the Province of Maryland as it occurred in April, 1672. Special guests represented the British Embassy, the State of Maryland, Anne Arundel County, the Maryland Historical Society, and the Friends in Baltimore. On Saturday afternoon the pageant was opened with a prayer by a Catholic priest. The Sunday morning service was held at the Galesville Memorial Methodist Church, with its pastor attended by the rector of the nearby Protestant Episcopal Church. Instead of the usual sermon a talk was given by a Quaker historian. In the two-day celebration some seven thousand people attended.³⁵ The entire proceedings were carried on with the knowledge and advice of Baltimore Friends who attended the affair.

While the Meetings and the Meeting Houses at West River, Herring Creek and Indian Spring have long since disappeared, Quakerism has left slight, but indelible, imprints upon the Anne Arundel countryside. To recount its story from the carefully preserved records pertaining to the founding years of Anne Arundel County is to breathe life and vitality into a great and proud heritage.

CEDAR PARK *

"Cedar Park," a Seventeenth Century estate near the Old Quaker Burying Ground, overlooks West River and the Chesapeake Bay. The dwelling house of weathered brick and ancient lines is set in a picturesque area, which once was a deer park, of rolling meadows and a small spring-fed stream. Giant oak, sycamore, beech, linden and cedar trees give shelter from the sun in summer and protection from the north and northwest winds in winter. The estate gets its name from its setting.

The first possessor, in 1656, of the land of "Cedar Park" was Captain Richard Ewen of Puritan fame.¹ This was only six years after the creation of Anne Arundel County. Originally, the land was surveyed in 1665 as "Ewens" for Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland and, later, the third Lord Baltimore.² In 1666 the plantation was granted by patent as "Ewen upon Ewenton" to Richard Ewen, Jr.³ Tradition says that the original frame house, later enclosed in an enlarged brick structure, served as Lord Baltimore's hunting lodge. Since 1673 the property has been owned by, or has been in the possession of, Friends or descendants of the founders of the West River Quaker Meeting. Throughout the Seventeenth Century it was the site of many Quaker Meetings, and a Yearly Meeting of Friends was held there in 1684. Thus the old house bears the distinction of being the only surviving structure in the county in which religious services were held at such an early date.

Throughout the Eighteenth Century the estate was owned by the Galloway and Sprigg families, descendants of Richard Galloway II, to whom much of the present house is credited. A portrait of one of the owners from 1741 to 1781, Sophia Richardson Galloway (Mrs. Richard Galloway, Jr.) by John Hesselius, is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which institution has granted permission to reproduce the portrait in this book. During much of the Nineteenth Century, "Cedar Park" was owned by the family of Governor John Francis Mercer and his wife, Sophia Sprigg Mercer. From 1825 to about 1834 it was the site of Miss Margaret Mercer's School for Young Ladies.⁴

President James Monroe visited his friend, Governor Mercer, at "Cedar Park" on May 30 and 31, 1818, accompanied by John C.

* See J. Reaney Kelly, "Cedar Park, its people and its history." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, March, 1963.

Calhoun, Secretary of War, and Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy. Young Margaret Mercer acted as hostess for her father.⁵ A letter written in 1822 by William Wirt, one of Maryland's ablest lawyers, gives a contemporary picture of the setting at about the time the distinguished visitors were entertained there.

The approach to the house is through a park composed of open sunny green hills and vales, undulating in most fanciful form, interspersed with clumps of shady trees. Now, in the same beautiful park there are several hundred of the finest fallow deer I ever beheld, so fat, round and slick, of all ages and all colors from the superbly antlered buck to the spotted fawn. The general color is dusky yellow but they are all tints of yellow, brown, red, gray, variegated brown and white. Wild and frolicsome as they appear at a distance they are perfectly gentle and will feed from the hand of their Mistress [Margaret Mercer]. Then you come to the house which is a fine old mansion having a grand entreé like the President's house opening into four rooms and to the south a grand summer saloon [now the parlor] . . . and here the whole Chesapeake Bay bursts suddenly upon the eye.⁶

Since 1869 "Cedar Park" has been owned and occupied by the family of Dr. James Henry Murray and his wife, Fanny Cheston Murray, a descendant of the builder. Completely renovated, it is now the home of Eveleth and Marjorie Murray Bridgman and their five children. Thus a younger generation brings this nearly three-century-old house to the threshold of a new era.

LARKINS HILLS

“Larkins Hills,” the house of John Larkin on the old Severn Ridge Road, now State Route 2, was the first Anne Arundel County capital of the Province of Maryland. The General Assembly of Maryland met there on October 2, 1683,¹ with Charles, Third Lord Baltimore, in attendance. At that time there were a number of frame outbuildings, one of which served as a courthouse. These have long since disappeared. Larkin kept an ordinary or inn. Governor Sir Lionel Copley and his Council met at “the house of John Larkin Aug 16th, 1692,”² and it also was the meeting place of the Council of Maryland, with Colonel Nicholas Greenbury serving as President, on August 16, 1694.³ The first regular post route in Maryland from St. Mary’s through Annapolis included a stop at John Larkin’s.⁴

“Larkins Hills” was surveyed on March 3, 1661,⁵ for John Larkin and granted to him by patent for 650 acres in 1663.⁶ Here he built the quaint gambrel-roofed brick house that has endured so many years. While its exact date is not known, it is believed that the house was in use during the meeting of the General Assembly in 1683.

Larkin was one of the early Friends in Anne Arundel County. He was fined for refusing to take an oath soon after 1658.⁷ In 1697, just a few years before his death, records reveal him as custodian, with Samuel Galloway I, of generous gifts of tobacco from Quakers of the Eastern Shore to the West River Yearly Meeting “towards building ye house for ye use of Friends.”⁸

Today both the house and the plantation are kept in prime condition by their owners, Mr. and Mrs. Fendall Claggett.

WHITES HALL

“Whites Hall,” named for Jerome White its patentee in 1665, originally contained 800 acres,¹ and is the only grant in Anne Arundel County of less than manor proportions shown on the Augustine Herrman Map of Maryland, published in 1673. Located in the South River Hundred “south of the South run of South River,”² it was purchased by Gerrard Hopkins II and Samuel Galloway I. On June 19, 1719, it was divided by them.³ Johns Hopkins I inherited a part of “Whites Hall” by the terms of his father’s will, which was probated on February 11, 1743/44,⁴ and at his death in 1784, it passed to his son, Samuel.⁵ Samuel Hopkins married Hannah, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Jones Janney, in August 1792. Johns Hopkins II was born at “Whites Hall,” on May 19, 1795. On December 24, 1873, he died, leaving an estate of approximately \$8,000,000, most of which was used to establish the university and hospital named for him in Baltimore.⁶

The present dwelling house at “Whites Hall” reflects many changes since its original emplacements were built before 1784, the time of the death of Johns Hopkins I. It has been carefully renovated and restored by its owners, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Duckett. The plantation is in a high state of cultivation.

From the early days of Anne Arundel County, the Hopkins family were ardent Friends. Johns Hopkins I, grandfather of John Hopkins II, manumitted his slaves on July 21, 1778,⁷ following the edicts of the West River Yearly Meeting. Johns Hopkins II, a birthright Friend, also followed the Quaker way of life.

TULIP HILL *

Samuel Galloway III built "Tulip Hill," his fine Georgian house which overlooks West River, in 1756.¹ He was a great-grandson of Richard Galloway I, founder of the family in Maryland and a birth-right Friend. According to tradition the builder, a highly successful merchant, trader and planter, intended the home to be a present for his wife, Anne Chew Galloway, formerly of "Maidstone."

The house was built on land originally laid out in 1652 for Christopher Rawles, John Brown and Richard Mosby.² Richard Talbott bought the tract, and it was granted to him by patent as "Poplar Knowle" in 1659.³ After purchasing it from the Talbott family in 1755, Samuel Galloway III changed its name to "Tulip Hill" for the flower of the tulip poplar trees that grew in large groves about the property.⁴ Christopher Rawles, Richard Talbott and his family were among Maryland's first Friends. John Brown, also thought to have been a Quaker, was the co-patentee of "Brownton," situated where the village of Galesville now stands. In 1684 a part of "Brownton" was given to "the people called Quakers to meet on and to bury their dead." This is now known as the Old Quaker Burying Ground.⁵

The builder, Samuel Galloway III, frequently used the tulip as a name and as a design motif in the decoration of his house. Many of the trees were fashioned into lumber and built into the heart of the house. Carvings of the flower appear on its trim, and some of the original wall paper, later covered by panelling, was of tulip design.⁶ One of the builder's many vessels, the snow, *Tulip*, was well known on the high seas.

The history of "Tulip Hill" can be well documented. A voluminous collection of correspondence, accounts, plats and ledgers, all relating to "Tulip Hill," or to people associated with it, are in the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library. Together with other documents owned by the Estate of the late Anne Cheston Murray, they have been said to comprise the finest record of contemporary Americana in existence. During the 1770s General George Washington recorded in his diary several visits to "Mr. Samuel Galloways." Probably President James Monroe visited the old mansion during his stay with Governor John Francis Mercer at adjoining "Cedar Park" in 1818.⁷

* See L. Morris Leisenring, "Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII, 3, 1952, pp. 188-208.

During the Civil War the owners, Colonel George Wirtz Hughes, USA., Ret., and his wife Anne Sarah Maxcy Hughes, cast their sympathy with the Confederate cause and gave to it their only son.⁸ In the course of the war Federal troops were ordered to search "Tulip Hill" for contraband, but left after only a cursory examination.⁹ In 1829 most of the outbuildings were destroyed by a fire "caused by the carelessness of a servant."³⁰ The one exception still extant was the board and batten smokehouse built in January, 1811, adjacent to the kitchen wing of the house.¹¹

Of current interest is a recently acquired portrait of Jane Galloway (1745-1801) which, after nearly two hundred years, replaces the original that hung at "Tulip Hill" in 1762. Search for the original was prompted by the discovery a few years ago of a romantic poem by John Thomas of nearby "Lebanon." Dated 1762, the verse was published at Annapolis in 1808,¹² and was inscribed "written under a young ladys picture at Tulip Hill." The subject was a maiden named Jenny. It is known that Jane Galloway, a half-sister of the builder of "Tulip Hill," and after the death of her mother in 1748, also his ward, was affectionately called Jenny by her family and friends. The fact that she attended school in Philadelphia in 1757 and married Joseph Shippen of that city in 1768, led to inquiry at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as to the possibility of the existence of a portrait of her that could have been at "Tulip Hill" in 1762. It developed that the Society owned a portrait of Jane Galloway painted in 1757 by Benjamin West, a young Quaker artist who later became world famous. It is believed to have been painted in Philadelphia and contracted for by Samuel Galloway III. Thus it became one of the first portraits to hang at "Tulip Hill" where Jenny made her home. With the permission of the Historical Society, a replica was painted and again, as in 1762, there is "a young ladys picture at Tulip Hill."

With the exception of the addition of wings at some time before 1800 and certain embellishments within the house, the estate remained virtually unchanged in the possession of the Galloway family from 1756 to 1906. Henry M. Murray of "Ivy Neck," whose wife was the former Mary Hollingsworth Morris, a descendant of the Galloways, purchased "Tulip Hill" in 1877.¹³ In 1906 it was divided by his widow, and the venerable old house and fifty-four of the surrounding acres were sold out of the family.¹⁴ The remaining farm land, known by the original name of "Poplar Knowle," is still owned by a descendant of the builder, Henry M. Murray of "Cumberstone."

Samuel and Anne Galloway did not occupy "Tulip Hill" together as they had planned in 1755. The *Maryland Gazette* of December 23, 1756, carried the following notice: "Annapolis, December 23rd: Last

week died in child-bed, at West River, Mrs. Anne Galloway, Consort of Mr. Samuel Galloway, Merchant; a gentlewoman possessed of every virtuous and amiable Quality." Husband and wife are buried in the small graveyard near the old house.

The owners since 1947, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Andrews, have completely restored and renovated the house, gardens and grounds to make "Tulip Hill" a charming, beautiful and happy estate.

HOLLY HILL *

"Holly Hill," situated in the extreme southern part of Anne Arundel County near the former site of the Herring Creek Meeting House and Herring Bay, reflects both the vision and the standing of the founding Friends of that area. Although the original frame house, now enclosed with brick, was built earlier, the lines of the sturdy structure have remained virtually unchanged since 1733. It has been carefully and authentically restored by its present owners, Captain and Mrs. Hugh P. LeClair.

The land, "Hollands Hills," was first surveyed on August 7, 1663,¹ for Francis Holland and granted to him by patent in 1664.² Both Francis Holland and his wife, Margaret, were Quakers and members of the Herring Creek Meeting. Richard Harrison, also a Quaker, purchased part of the grant "adjoining the land where Francis Holland then dwelt," and in 1685 acquired the entire tract of some 190 acres³ from Francis Holland, Jr., soon after the death of his father. Later, Harrison purchased enough adjoining land to increase his holding to 1,300 acres.⁴

Richard Harrison is credited with building the original frame house, which some time before 1716 he enclosed in brick. This structure now forms the old wing of the present house. Richard's son, Samuel, built a second wing at right angles to the first to form a T-shaped building, with the older part forming the stem and the later addition crossing it at one end.

Richard Harrison I married Elizabeth, widow of John Benson and daughter of Thomas and Alice Smith of Calvert County, in 1678.⁵ Following her death on March 6, 1693/4, he married Elizabeth Hall on May 7, 1695,⁶ after they had declared their intention to wed at the Herring Creek Meeting.⁷ Benjamin Chew and Elizabeth Benson were married "at the house of Richard Harrison" in 1692,⁸ the bride being Harrison's stepdaughter.⁹

Two sons blessed the union of Richard Harrison and Elizabeth Smith Benson. Samuel was born on July 1, 1679, and Richard, Jr., on February 3, 1686.¹⁰ Samuel inherited most of the land, including the old mansion, while Richard, Jr., sold his inheritance and removed to Philadelphia about 1725.¹¹

* See James W. Foster, "'Holly Hill' Early Plantation Home in Anne Arundel County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLI, 4, 1946, pp. 327-329.

In 1699 Richard Harrison I and his son Samuel were among the trustees for "the people called Quakers" who took title to the land upon which the Herring Creek Meeting House was built.¹² Both were early Friends, and it has been said that many Meetings were held at their house before 1700.¹³ In 1688 Richard Harrison I joined many other Friends in thanking Charles, Third Lord Baltimore, for his assent to a law allowing Quakers to affirm instead of to swear in testamentary cases.¹⁴ Esther Palmer, a traveling Friend, noted a visit to Richard Harrison's in 1705.¹⁵ Quaker records also reveal that a Meeting was held there on the 31st day of the 5th month, 1710.¹⁶

In his will, dated September 10, 1713, and probated on February 15, 1716/17, Richard Harrison I remembered "the poor Quakers on the Western Shore and the poor of Herring Creek." Richard Johns and William Richardson, prominent Friends, were named 'overseers' of his estate.¹⁷

SUDLEY

“Sudley,” or “Cumberstone” as it was known until 1798, is located about three miles south of the Old Quaker Burying Ground just off State Route 468 on Old Sudley Road. It is rich in historic charm and tradition. Built before 1683 by Richard Arnold, a Friend, the house remained in the possession of members of that religious movement, or their direct descendants, until it was sold to Mr. and Mrs. William F. Kelly, the present owners, in 1942. It is unique among the surviving Seventeenth Century dwellings in Anne Arundel County in that its profile and size remain as they were when constructed nearly three hundred years ago. The small wings, added later, project from the corners of the original house without affecting its bold and independent outline.

From a time soon after the founding of the county the estate has been closely connected with important events and personalities. Its original name, “Cumberstone,” was taken from a grant of land to Captain John Cumber in 1659. The present name was given in 1798 when the tract on which the house stands, a part of “Cumberstone,” was resurveyed together with several contiguous properties into one large plantation.

During the Seventeenth Century the dwelling and the surrounding farm land were owned by the Arnold family. After 1700 the property was acquired by Samuel Galloway I who passed it to his son, Richard Galloway III. With the marriage of Susannah Galloway, daughter of Richard III, to Kensey Johns II about 1749, the estate came into the Johns family, descendants of Richard Johns,¹ in whose possession it remained for many years. All of these owners were Friends.

The house commands a sweeping view from a rather abrupt rise of land near the headwaters of West River. At the front spacious box-planted terraces, framed by ancient tulip poplar trees, stretch southward. In the rear a winding path leads down to Cumbers Creek which meanders on to the river. The remains of some of the early owners—Kensey Johns II, his wife, Susannah Galloway Johns, and their son, John Johns, who gave the name of “Sudley” to the estate—rest at the foot of the terraced garden within the shadows of the old house. Nearby, as if to guard a treasured heritage, stands one of the finest specimens in the state of the native tulip poplar (*Liriodendron Tulipifera*).

"Sudley" is not the pretentious mansion-type house which was built later, but it is of simple Maryland colonial design. Its floor plan, measurements and profile are virtually the same as those envisioned for the original house at "Cedar Park." Its exterior belies the spacious great hall and parlor, now the living and dining rooms on the first floor, the three quaint bedrooms on the second floor and the attic above. The main, and original, part of the house is approximately five bays, or sections, long and about one-third as wide. The huge chimneys stand within the gable ends, and a narrow stairway winds upward in one corner. All framing, siding and roofing are of hand-hewn timber except where replacements have been made. The original roofing of rived oak, laid clapboard fashion, is now covered with fire-proof shingles, and the bricks used in the foundations, chimneys and fireplaces were handmade of local surface clay.

It is believed that the cooking once was done in the fireplaces in the hall and parlor. Later, a story-and-a-half kitchen wing was added at one corner of the house. However, this had almost entirely disappeared by the time of its purchase in 1942. During the second quarter of the Eighteenth Century two small matching wings, one at each end, were added, each offset beyond the front line of the building. In the recent restoration the kitchen wing was rebuilt to replace the original, and a similar sized bedroom wing was erected, each offset beyond the back line of the dwelling. They were connected by a covered porch running along the back of the house. Hence, the original house now has a wing projecting from each corner. Recently at the Hall of Records several drawings of "Sudley" were found in a *Sketch Book* of the late Frank B. Mayer. Dating from about 1885, they show the original kitchen wing much as it has been reconstructed, as well as a covered porch along the back of the house. Even the restored chimney tops are exactly as they were when the sketches were made.

Of necessity some of the exposed weatherboarding has had to be replaced, but some remains, where it has been protected by the abutting front wings. The original roofing, now covered with new shingles, can be seen from the attic beneath.

Only one minor change has been made to the interior. At the time when the hall and parlor were panelled, or wainscoted, the original stairway in the corner of the hall was moved to the opposite chimney corner in the parlor, as it is today. In its place a "rounded scroll-shelved cupboard"² was built. A small door in the rear wall of the house permits a view of the back of the cupboard and its unique construction. Also, the old stair rail and the marks of the original treads can be clearly seen.

The fireplaces at each end of the house are original and are the largest of any in the surviving Seventeenth Century houses in the county. Bricks for the chimneys and fireplaces were made on, or near, the site as was the practice in colonial days. Because they were hand-made, they vary in size from $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ to $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{5}{8}''$. Many are finished with glazed headers. The bases of the tremendous chimneys measure $6' \times 8'$ at the first floor level, and a hand-hewn oak beam, measuring $13'' \times 11'' \times 8'$ supports the breast of each fireplace. The beams bear upon oak "tassels"³ set in the brickwork at right angles and extending the entire depth of the chimneys. The downstairs fireplace openings measure approximately 6 feet by about 57 inches. One has a square and the other a rounded back. Long usage is indicated by the charred condition of the inner side of the breast beams, despite a sharp bevel of the lower inside edges.

The fine panelling in the great hall, now the living room, was installed along with the cupboard between 1723 and 1737, when the house was owned and inhabited by Richard Galloway III and his wife, Mary Paca Galloway. The parlor, now the dining room, was partially panelled at the same time. In 1925 some of the parlor woodwork was removed and destroyed to be replaced by wallpaper.⁴ During the restoration, however, it was replaced with matching wainscoting. It is obvious that these rooms were panelled long after the house was built since the trim and cornices were fashioned to compensate for a slight settling of the house that had occurred. The ravages of time and wear on the first floor flooring made replacement necessary during the 1950 restoration, but it is believed that the boards in the bedrooms and upstairs hall floors are original.

The two small story-and-a-half wings at the front ends of the house were added some time after 1750 by Kensey Johns II who was high sheriff of the county and an important merchant. One with an outside door was used as an office, while the other is known to have been a bedroom.⁵ In fact, the late Mrs. Cornelia Johns Grice who, in 1942, sold the property to its present owners, was born in that bedroom in 1880.⁶ Each wing has a small servant's room tucked under its sharply pitched roof. Access to them was through trap doors in the ceiling, served by a ladder-like stairway in the chimney corner.

In his *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*, Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman gives the date of "Sudley" as "before 1704," a conclusion based upon its architectural and structural characteristics. In Volume XXII, Number 5 of the "Monograph Series" which records the architecture of the American colonies and the early republic in an article entitled "Domestic Architecture of Anne Arundel County, Maryland," by Arthur Holden, there is a picture of the rear of

"Sudley" showing some of the old rived weatherboarding. In a note the author states that a study of its construction indicates "great age."⁷

In addition to these judgments as to the age of the house, Richard Arnold is known to have named "Cumberstone" as his dwelling plantation in 1683, and further documentation is found in Dr. Joseph Packard's statements in his book, published in 1902. The owner of "Sudley" during the mid-Nineteenth Century was Bishop John Johns of Virginia, a nephew of Kensey Johns II and son of Kensey Johns III. The author had known Bishop Johns since 1834. Thus, his information, based on facts given him by Bishop Johns, whose grandmother, Susannah Galloway Johns, was born at Sudley in 1723, may be regarded as authentic. Dr. Packard wrote:

Bishop Johns inherited this estate ["Sudley"] through his father from an uncle, Captain John Johns, and he often spent part of his summers there delighting in its magnificent oaks which were among the finest I ever saw—now, alas, all gone for ships. The house is said to be two hundred and fifty years old and the parlor is wainscoted in large panels from floor to ceiling and was in good preservation a few years ago.⁸

The land on which the dwelling was built was part of a tract of 600 acres granted to Captain John Cumber in 1659.⁹ Although information about Captain Cumber is meager, it is thought that he had been a Cromwellian soldier who, with his family, came into the Province sometime in the early 1650s and was seated at "Cumberstone" well before the plantation was granted to him. The fact that he was granted 600 acres of land indicates that he brought several people with him. His wife was the former Judith Parker,¹⁰ and there were at least one son and one daughter. Cumber was commissioned a captain-lieutenant in the provincial militia on July 12, 1658. He served as next in command to Major Ewen of nearby "Ewens," later patented as "Ewen upon Ewenton," and now "Cedar Park."

No record of John Cumber as a Friend has been found. However, the fact that he was appointed second in command of the local militia so soon after the restoration of the Province to Lord Baltimore in 1658, indicates a high regard by the governor and a loyalty to the proprietor. Only a few years later Cumber deeded a part of "Cumberstone," the land south of Cumbers Creek, to his son-in-law, Thomas Pratt.¹¹ Then on May 13, 1672, Pratt sold the same land to Richard Arnold, a Friend.¹² The plot was a somewhat crescent-shaped piece of land comprising 100 acres, including virtually the entire southern boundary of "Cumberstone." Although John Cumber soon disposed of the remaining 500 acres, the name "Cumberstone" clung to the 100-acre

tract sold by Pratt to Arnold. Either Cumber or Pratt could have built the original "Cumberstone" house, for it would have been in keeping with the living standards of either. Firm documentation exists that the house was standing in 1683, at the time of the death of Richard Arnold. The record of the several transactions between Cumber, Pratt and Arnold is found in papers filed in the Provincial Court:

Be it remembered that here into Court came Samuel Waters of Ann Arundell County and in the right of his wife Sarah one of the co-heiresses of Richard Arnold late of Ann Arundel County does claim title to fifty acres of land which the said Richard Arnold purchased from Thomas Pratt who was the grantee of John Cumber the original purchaser of six hundred acres called Cumberstone which included the one hundred acres and in order therefore to prove his title thereto he produceth to the court here a copy of a record of a deed of Gift taken from the Records of Ann Arundel County before the late fire, signed by Mr. Wm. Taylor the late Clerk of that County which sufficiently testifies the said one hundred acres to have been given by the said Jno. Cumber to the sd Thomas Pratt. He further produceth a certificate signed by Mr. James Heath of an entry made in the alienation book now in the custody of the said Mr. Heath which is of Capt. Hanslaps writing which Cert. makes appear the sale of one hundred acres of land from Thomas Pratt to Richard Arnold both which papers herein court produced he prays may be recorded as follows: Viz:

March 8, 1663

Know all men by these presents that I John Cumber in the County of Ann Arundel Province of Maryland do firmly and freely give by these presents give unto Thomas Pratt my son-in-law, his heirs, exors & Admers or assigns a parcel of land judged to be one hundred acres taken out of my Patent which is for 600 acres bounding as follows:—Beginning at a Pock-hicory standing by a branch at the mouth of a narrow neck, running from the Hicory southwest to the great branch, from the bounding tree northwest to a Spanish Oak; to have and to hold this parcel of land valued to be one hundred acres from me, my heirs, exors, Admers & assigns with this provision that if the above Thomas Pratt should at any time proffer for sale or make sale of this land that either I, my heirs or assigns should have the first sale of it.

Witness my hand the eleventh day of Feb. 1661.

Signed & delivered in the presence of us

John Cumber
Jno. Gray
Robt. X Rominno

his
John X Cumber
mark
Gaylord (?) Clk of A. A. County

March 19—1705/6

Whereas as well the original deed of gift the copy of thereof is above written is by casual means lost as the record thereof burnt and for the same doth sufficiently appear to have been upon the record to the end that the claimer may inasmuch as may be reinstated in his former condition. It is by the court here adjudged and decreed that the aforesaid copy of the aforesaid deed of gift be recorded in the court to serve and avail all persons herewith concerned.

Witness,

In the Alienation Book of Ann Arundel County of Capt. Hanslaps own handwriting is the following entry Viz. Liber G.

Dec. 23—1672 Thomas Pratt of West River Annarundel County in the Province of Maryland Planter sells and assigns to Richard Arnold of sd River, County and Province, Taylor, 100 acres of land being part of 600 acres called Cumberstone lying on the West side of Chesapeake Bay & the North side of West River & on the West side of Cedar Creek.

A true Copy of the above entry by me

Sam. Heath

March 19—1706

At the request of Samuel Waters it is ordered that the above written entry should be recorded.¹³

Richard Arnold came into the Province in 1649.¹⁴ He settled in the South River Hundred and was granted land for "service done in the County," indicating that he may have been an indentured servant.¹⁵ It is not known whether he came directly to Maryland or by way of Virginia, however, he became an ardent Friend.¹⁶ His purchase of "Cumberstone" was made on December 23, 1672, the same year which saw the first visit of George Fox. Arnold's neighbors, in addition to John Cumber and his son, were the Waters family at "The Fork," and James White at "Whites Folly." Samuel Waters and James White were coopers.¹⁷

Soon after the purchase of part of "Cumberstone," Richard Arnold married Martha Thomas, daughter of Philip and Sarah Harrison Thomas.¹⁸ His marriage into one of Maryland's first families of Friends speaks for his standing. Martha Thomas was Maryland born,¹⁹ and her father was a founder of, and a prominent figure in, the Herring Creek and the West River Meetings. Thomas Point at the mouth of South River is named for him. In his will, proved on August 10, 1675, he designated "A body of Quakers" as a final court of appeal in the event that a dispute arose over its provisions.²⁰ Martha Thomas' mother, Sarah, was a Quaker minister. She died before November 25,

1687, for on that date the Herring Creek Meeting recorded: "Sarah Thomas is taken away by death."²¹ Martha Arnold's sister Sarah also married a dedicated Friend of the area—John, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Mears. He died in 1675, and in his will, proved on May 25, he made the following bequest: "To Samuel Thomas my silver tobacbox and suite of cloathes made me lately by Richard Arnold."²² Arnold, originally a tailor, became better known as a planter. Another sister, Elizabeth Thomas, married William Coale, the great Quaker minister, as his third wife. As a widow she then married Edward Talbott, another outstanding Friend. Edward was the son of Richard and Elizabeth Ewen Talbott of "Poplar Knowle," now "Tulip Hill."²³

Three children were born to Richard and Martha Arnold—Samuel, Sarah and Elizabeth. Samuel must have died young because, after 1683, nothing is heard of him. Sarah Arnold married Samuel Waters of the adjoining "Fork," and Elizabeth married, first, Jacob Giles of "Cumberton" and, second, Thomas Hawkins, both of whom were Friends.²⁴

It has been said that Arnold's standard of living at "Cumberstone" was well above the average. Also, there is conclusive evidence that the present "Sudley" was his dwelling before 1683. Thus, it can be safely concluded that Richard Arnold built the original structure at some time between 1672, the date of purchase of the land, and his death in 1683. The fact that Arnold had two neighbors who were carpenters, and many Friends of the West River and Herring Creek Meetings as assistants may account for the construction of such a fine house at this early date.

Further evidence of Arnold's standing in the area and of his dedication to the doctrine of the Inward Light²⁵ follows: "Anno 1678. When by virtue of an order from the Governor, John Welsh took an Execution from Richard Arnold, 500 lbs. of tobacco for a fine for not taking an Oath as Constable and 50 lbs. of tobacco for his fees for serving the execution."

Richard Arnold died at "Cumberstone" some time between May 27 and July 5, 1683, but his will was not proved until April 24, 1684,²⁶ almost a year later. On May 8, 1686, an inventory of the estate and an appraisal were filed.

The main provisions of the will follow:

Secondly—I will and bequeath unto my son Samuel Arnell [Arnold] and his heirs forever that parcel or tract of land with the plantation where I now live called Cumberstone and appurtenances thereunto belonging and that he be possessed with the same at the age of eighteen years that is to say if his mother joins herself in marriage before the said time but if his said mother remains a widdow then it is my desire that she enjoy the said

plantation & appurtenances thereunto belonging during her natural life.

fifthly—I will that my son Samuel Arnold be brought up to rite and rede and cast accounts and that my daughters be brought up to rede and sow and do all necessary things if fitting for women to do.

Sixly—I will that my dear and loving wife Martha Arnold be my sole executrix and she be possessed with the whole estate unless she alter her condition and join herself in marriage then it is my mind and will that she give security for my Children's estate to those Friends hereafter named whose care and assistance I desire both towards my wife & children to see this my will preformed as much as in them lies in manner as is above expressed; who are my brother Samuel Thomas my brother Edward Talbott, William Richardson and Benjamin Lawrence and if in case any of those friends should die then it is my desire that the survivors should make choice of another and so to keep the full quantity of friends to inspect into this affair till my children come to age.²⁷

The Friends mentioned in the will were all substantial planters and members of the West River Quaker Meeting. Arnold's brother-in-law, Samuel Thomas, was seated at "Lebanon" on the ridge northwest of Arnold's property. Edward Talbott, another brother-in-law, was the son of Richard and Elizabeth Ewen Talbott of "Poplar Knowle." The name of William Richardson is synonymous with Quakerism at West River. Benjamin Lawrence, too, was one of the county's early Friends. He came to the area at about the same time as Arnold and purchased "Ewen upon Ewenton," now "Cedar Park," where he lived until his death in 1684. Richard Arnold could not have chosen a finer group of substantial Quaker planters and citizens of the County to advise his family.

The inventory of Arnold's estate was not filed for nearly three years after his death despite the fact that his widow married Daniel Longman in 1684.²⁸ It reflects an above average standard of living.²⁹

His livestock totaled fifty-eight animals, as many as are carried on the "Sudley" plantation today. Six beds were listed as well as coverings, pillows, bolsters and other furnishings. Also included was a set of "sirge curtains and vallents" (valances), the use of which indicates a substantial dwelling. A "Dieppor table cloth and one dozen Diepper napkins" reflected a taste and manner of living well in advance of the general conception of this early era. This material, usually linen with a distinctive diaper pattern, was highly prized by housewives. The total value of the personalty, estimated in 1686 as 79£/13s/3p, was later transposed into the equivalent of 19,116 pounds of tobacco.

Little is known of Daniel Longman, whom Arnold's widow married, aside from the fact that before 1692 he had acquired considerable land

contiguous to "Cumberstone."³⁰ Daniel and Martha Longman continued to live at "Cumberstone" which, under the terms of Arnold's will, should have become the property of Arnold's son because of the widow's remarriage. The last inventory of the estate was filed in 1689. It is presumed that Martha died about that time and that Longman passed away before 1692 when an inventory of his estate was filed.³¹ The son Samuel Arnold, having died young, "Cumberstone" passed into possession of his sisters, Sarah and Elizabeth.

Under the terms of Richard Arnold's will, his wife received one-third of the personal property, and the balance was to be divided among the three children. Therefore, in the absence of the wills of either Daniel or Martha Longman, it is thought that the inventory of the personal estate of the former, filed on January 21, 1692, included at least two-thirds of the personal property of Sarah and Elizabeth Arnold. This document reads much like the inventory of Richard Arnold filed some six years before, but the value totals 14£/19s/06p not including 1,630 pounds of tobacco. The main difference is the value placed upon "3 Negro Men with one Woman and sucking child, and one boy 2 years old" amounting to 84£, an amount that was over one-half of the appraisal of the entire estate. Also listed were "one lot of curtains and 3 curtains with Vallances" and a "diaper tablecloth with 12 napkins"—possibly the same as those mentioned in the inventory of Arnold's estate. Materials used in dressmaking or tailoring were more numerous in the 1692 inventory than in Arnold's, indicating, possibly, that his trade was carried on by his widow or, perhaps, by Longman. The "Two old sider casks" which were mentioned reflect the fruits of a bearing orchard.

The story of "Cumberstone" after the death of Daniel and Martha Longman is complicated due to several unusual transactions. Because the son Samuel was presumed dead, title to the property passed to the daughters, Sarah and Elizabeth. In 1701 Elizabeth Arnold married Jacob Giles, and their marriage certificate was recorded in the early Quaker records.³² Those witnessing the ceremony at the West River Quaker Meeting House were:

Samuel Galloway I	Wm. Richardson I	Sophia Richardson
Mord. Moore	Wm. Richardson, Jr. II	John Salkold
Richard Galloway II	Samuel Waters	Ed. Talbott
Wm. Coale	Robert Roberts	Sarah Giles
Jos. Richardson	Samuel Thomas	Sarah Thomas
Thomas Miles	E. Talbott	E. Talbott
Samuel Galloway, Jr. II	E. Waters	Margaret Waters
John Preston	Nathaniel Giles	E. Coale
Dutton Lane	Art. Franklin	E. Hutchens, Jr.

Gerrard Hopkins II	Robert Franklin	Margaret Hopkins
Samuel Lane	Mary Thomas	Sarah Lane
Philip Thomas	John Talbott	Sarah Sparrow
John Thomas	Mary Harwood	Mary Waters
Soloman Sparrow	E. Richardson, Jr.	

These Friends represent a cross-section of the membership of the West River Quaker Meeting at the time when Quakerism had reached its height on the Western Shore and the Meeting House at West River was being enlarged.³³

On July 20, 1697, Samuel Galloway I purchased from one Stephen Longman, uncle and heir of Elizabeth the only daughter of Daniel Longman, several tracts of land adjoining "Cumberstone" on the south. They were "The Addition" for 50 acres, first granted to James White in 1665;³⁴ "Whites Folly" for 30 acres, granted to James White in 1666;³⁵ and "Fordstone" for 120 acres, granted in 1659 to Thomas Ford.³⁶ Much later these properties were combined with "Cumberstone" to constitute "Sudley Farm."³⁷ The transaction involving the purchase was proved by Samuel Galloway I at a special court "held in for the Relief of Anne Arundel County and all concerned in the Records thereof burnt, the 9th day of August, 1709."³⁸

The date when Samuel Galloway I purchased "Cumberstone" is not certain. Probably it was between 1709 and his death which occurred before January, 1720. In his will, dated the 17th day of the 4th month, 1719, are found the following bequests:³⁹ "To son John and heirs 'Cumberstone' at the head of West River part of said tract bought of Samuel Waters and Sarah [Arnold] his wife and of Thomas Hawkins and Elizabeth [Arnold] his wife." That part "lying south of Cumbers Creek and adjoining the land now in possession of Elizabeth Waters," was left to his son, Richard, the third of that name in the Galloway family. This was "Cumberstone," the property on which the venerable old dwelling of "Sudley," was built. Richard III also received the adjoining tracts including "Fordstone," "Whites Folly," and "The Addition."

The transfer of title to the part of "Cumberstone" owned by Samuel and Sarah Arnold Waters to Samuel Galloway I reflected a feeling for family, for a provision of the Waters' will, probated on October 16, 1747, was:

That my son John and his heirs forever shall quit claim title and interest in and to a parcel of land sold by me to Samuel Galloway called "Cumberstone." But if my son John his heirs in any manner disturb or molest the said Galloway his heirs or assigns in the quiet possession thereof, then I will that my son John his heirs and assigns have no right title or claim of, in

or to the said part of "Jericho" but the same shall descend to my son Mordecai Waters.⁴⁰

From the date when it was built through the lives of Richard Arnold and his widow Martha Arnold Longman, the house must have been kept in good repair. During the period from 1692 to about 1720, when it was inherited by Richard Galloway III, little is known as to its inhabitants or as to its condition. It is assumed that one, or perhaps both, of the Arnold daughters resided there until it was purchased by Samuel Galloway I sometime before 1719.

When, soon after 1720, Richard Galloway III took possession, "Cumberstone" moved into a new era. Galloway, who signed himself "of Cumberstone," married Mary Paca, daughter of Aquilla Paca, about 1722.⁴¹ A daughter, Susannah, was born in 1723.⁴² In the same year Galloway purchased the adjoining property "The Fork" from Elizabeth Waters, bringing his land holdings to approximately 600 acres.⁴³

The union of Richard Galloway III of "Cumberstone," and Mary Paca of Baltimore County—whose family name would later be affixed to the Declaration of Independence—brought new life and vigor to the old homestead at West River. Their daughter, Susannah was a Friend.⁴⁴

Sometime between 1722 and his death, which occurred before 1733, Richard Galloway III renovated "Cumberstone" by installing the panelling and cupboard and by shifting the stairway as described previously. Thus, without changing its dimensions or profile, "Cumberstone" was transformed from a simple Seventeenth Century plantation home into an elegant country seat befitting the style of living of its owners. It is likely, too, that during this period the previously mentioned kitchen wing at the northwest corner of the house was built. Richard Galloway III died in 1733.⁴⁵

The gradual rise in the standard of living at "Cumberstone," reflecting the expanding economy of the countryside, can be judged by comparing the inventories of Richard Arnold, in 1684, of Daniel Longman, in 1692, and of Richard Galloway III, dated April 5, 1733.⁴⁶ While each lists "curtains and valances" and "Dieppor table cloths and Dieppor napkins," the furniture and personal comforts show differences in their ways of living. Arnold owned no slaves. Longman listed "3 negro men with one woman and sucking child and one boy 2 yrs. old." Richard Galloway's inventory contained the names of thirteen slaves, two small children and a servant woman, the latter evidently an indentured servant. By 1733 the old house was furnished in keeping with its interior improvements, and the plantation was in a high state of cultivation and productivity.

Richard Galloway's wearing apparel was appraised at £32:6:0, indicating an extensive wardrobe. There were: a silver watch and silver cane; gold studs; silver spoons; a pair of shoe buckles and one stock buckle, probably also of silver; a snuff box; a pair of silver spurs; and one silver tankard. Furnishings for the house included: several chests, one of which was of walnut; many chairs of cane and leather; a number of beds and a child's cradle; a quantity of linen; a corner cupboard; a copper chocolate pot; pewter and chinaware; and a writing desk, a bookcase and books.

On the plantation were about 240 head of live stock. The supplies on hand consisted of 1,710 gallons of cider; 135½ barrels of corn at 7 shilling a barrel; 58 bushels of oats; 3 bushels of beans; 23½ bushels of barley; 7¾ bushels of malt; 25 bushels of wheat; 22¼ bushels of salt; 5¾ bushels of peas; 905 pounds of bacon; 110 pounds of hogs heads; 289 pounds of [dried] beef; 590 pounds of pickled beef; 526 pounds of bacon [pickled]. Life at "Cumberstone" during its ownership by Richard Galloway III approached an elegance and completeness far above that it had enjoyed during the Seventeenth Century.

With the marriage of Susannah Galloway, daughter of Richard and Mary Paca Galloway, to Kensey Johns II, in 1749, "Cumberstone" moved into an even more impressive era. Susannah was an only child, and at her father's death in 1733, she was bequeathed two-thirds of his personal property and all of his land holdings, effective at the age of sixteen years. Under the will her mother was given the "land whereon my dwelling house now standeth . . . to be holden, used and occupied . . . for and during the term that she shall remain a widow."⁴⁷ Since the widow married Dr. Samuel Chew of "Maidstone"⁴⁸ soon after the death of her first husband, Susannah became the full owner of the property on her sixteenth birthday in 1739. At her marriage to Kensey Johns II, on November 15, 1749,⁴⁹ "Cumberstone" came into the Johns family where it remained for one hundred and ninety-three years when, as "Sudley," it was sold to the present owners.

Kensey Johns II was descended from one of Maryland's first families of Friends, his grandfather, Richard Johns, and his grandmother, Elizabeth Kensey Sparrow Johns, having founded the family in Calvert County.⁵⁰ Their son, Kensey Johns I, who was born on July 5, 1689, married Elizabeth Chew in 1710/11, died in February, 1729. Elizabeth Chew, who was born on March 13, 1695, died on February 9, 1727. She was a daughter of Benjamin Chew, who lived from 1671 to 1700, and of Elizabeth Benson of Calvert County. Chew was a son of Samuel and Anne Ayres Chew. Elizabeth was a daughter of John Benson and Elizabeth Smith, also of Calvert.⁵¹ After the death of John Benson in 1676/7, his widow, Elizabeth, married Richard Harrison I of the

property now known as "Holly Hill."⁵² Thus, Harrison became the stepfather of the Elizabeth Benson who, in 1692, married the Benjamin Chew who lived from 1671 to 1700.⁵³ Because of the intermarriage among the Johns, Chew, Benson, Hopkins, Sparrow and Smith families, Kensey Johns II was directly descended from most of Maryland's first Seventeenth Century families of Friends.

Kensey Johns II was a prominent merchant who carried on much of his business from a warehouse at Pig Point, formerly Bristol, on the Patuxent River. At times he was a partner of Samuel Galloway III of "Tulip Hill," another large merchant,⁵⁴ and he also served as high sheriff of the county during his ownership of "Cumberstone."⁵⁵ The two-and-a-half-story frame wings attached to the ends of the old house are attributed to him.

The Johns Papers, at the Hall of Records in Annapolis, paint a vivid picture of life at "Cumberstone" during the Kensey Johns II period. His ledger, or waist book, listed many of his clients and customers. Also, several visitors were named, a prominent one in 1760 being Governor Horatio Sharpe of Annapolis, builder of "Whitehall," north of the Severn River.⁵⁶

Five children were born of the marriage of Kensey Johns II and Susannah Galloway Johns. Kensey Johns III, who was born in 1749 and died in 1840, became the first Chancellor of Delaware. John, who was born soon after 1750 and who died in 1822, remained at home. He did not marry, and later gave the name of "Sudley" to the estate.

In 1784 Kensey III married Ann Van Dyke who was born on August 9, 1768, and who died on October 21, 1839. As the Chancellor of Delaware, Kensey Johns III and his family resided at New Castle. Of their several children, John, who was born in 1796, became an owner of "Sudley," through inheritance from his father in 1840.⁵⁷ Kensey Johns II died at "Cumberstone" on May 26, 1763,⁵⁸ and his widow, Susannah Galloway Johns took over the management of "Cumberstone." Upon becoming of age, her son, John, relieved her of those duties, and in 1783 she deeded the estate to him.⁵⁹ In 1798 the entire property was re-surveyed for John Johns and the various adjoining tracts, including "Cumberstone," "The Fork," "Fordstone," "Whites Folly," and "The Addition," were combined into "Sudley Farm."⁶⁰ It is presumed that at an earlier period the name "Sudley" had been associated with the Johns family in England.

Following the transfer of the Johns properties, including a part of "Cumberstone," to John Johns in 1783 and his re-survey of the entire tract into "Sudley" in 1798, the old dwelling faced the Nineteenth Century with renewed strength and confidence. Under its new name it would occupy an impressive place in county affairs. Increased

emphasis was placed upon the production of the plantation. John Johns was called "Captain." Although a birthright Friend, by 1780 he was a member of St. James Protestant Episcopal Church and was elected to its vestry on Easter Monday, March 27, of that year.⁶¹

Captain John Johns died at "Sudley," the place of his birth. Under date of August 18, 1822, John Sellman, a neighbor of nearby "Meadowbrook," recorded in his diary,⁶² "This night sat up with the corpse of Capt. John Johns who died at half past 2 o'clock P.M." The next day he wrote, "Capt. Johns interred today." The deceased was buried in a family burial vault at "Sudley" beside his father, Kensey Johns II and his mother, Susannah Galloway Johns. Later the remains of all three were moved to a site at the foot of the garden nearer the old house and under a stone inscribed "This stone covers the remains of Kensey and Susannah Johns and also their second son John Johns. They died and were buried at Sudley—reinterred October 1867."

In his will, dated 1806, and proved on August 27, 1822, Captain John Johns left virtually his entire estate to his brother, Kensey Johns III, Chancellor of Delaware, subject, however, to his payment of 750 pounds to the "surviving children of his sisters Susannah and Mary."⁶³ Actually there were three sisters, although only two were named in his will. Elizabeth had married James Tilghman, Mary had married Richard Harrison, and Susannah had married Samuel Harrison, a brother of Richard. Richard and Samuel Harrison were sons of Richard III and Rachel Smith Harrison. They were direct descendants of Richard Harrison I of "Holly Hill," near Herring Bay. Richard Harrison IV was born about 1754 and married Mary Johns on April 22, 1777. The birth date of his brother Samuel is not known, but presumed to have been the younger, he married Susannah Johns on June 13, 1778. The brothers owned much property near "Cumberlandstone," the home of their respective wives.⁶⁴

With the death of Captain John Johns in 1822, "Sudley" moved into still another era of ownership. It was the forerunner of an absentee landlord period that by 1942 almost brought destruction to the old house. Chancellor Kensey Johns III, the owner, resided in Newcastle. Of the several children born to his marriage to Ann Van Dyke, only John, born in Newcastle on July 10, 1796, is of interest in the possession and descent of "Sudley."⁶⁵ From 1822 to 1840, or until the death of Chancellor Johns, it is not known who resided at, or managed the estate.

Susannah Galloway Johns remained a Friend throughout her life. As administratrix of her husband's estate in 1763 she "affirmed and declared" rather than took the usual oath.⁶⁶ As has already been recounted, Captain John Johns, although a birthright Friend, separated

from the West River Meeting and became a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church before his death in 1822. Thus, after some one hundred and forty-six years, direct Quaker ownership ended at "Sudley." However, the later owners—Kensley Johns III, Chancellor of Delaware, his son John Johns who became Episcopal Bishop of Virginia and President of William and Mary College, and the latter's son, Dr. Kensley Johns IV—were all direct descendants of Richard Johns and Richard Galloway I, both numbered among Maryland's earliest and most prominent Friends.

For at least half a century, "Sudley" was without a resident owner. The old house gradually deteriorated. When sold to the present owners in 1942 it was in deplorable condition. However, careful, thorough and complete restoration of the house, garden, outbuildings and farm land has breathed new life into this old, historic and proud estate.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

NOTE: All wills and Anne Arundel County land records referred to are in the Hall of Records, Annapolis; all patents, certificates and rent rolls are in the Land Office, Annapolis.

THE FOUNDING OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY

¹ *The Calvert Papers I*. Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore, 1889), p. 132.

² *Archives of Maryland*, I, p. 244. Hereafter *A of M*.

³ Letter dated the 20th of the 2nd month, 1658, from Thomas Hart, of London to Thomas Willan and George Taylor, embodying a copy of a letter from Robert Clarksonne of Severn to Elizabeth Harris in London dated "ye 14th of ye 11th month, 1657." Swarthmore Collection, Friends Historical Library, London. Hereafter referred to as the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter.

⁴ John Nickalls, editor, *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 104. Hereafter referred to as Fox's *Journal*.

⁵ Richard Bennett and William Claiborne seized the government of Maryland for the second time in 1654. They were governor and secretary of state, respectively, of Virginia. The term Puritan is used broadly to cover both non-conformists to the Church of England and separatists, as well as people of other religions, except Roman Catholics.

⁶ *A of M*, I, pp. 341-351. Also see Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland* (New York, 1929), p. 118.

⁷ Most of the Roman Catholics, who were in a minority, were centered in St. Mary's, with some in Charles and a few in Calvert counties. The counties east of the Patuxent and on the Eastern Shore of the Bay were almost solidly Protestant. There were not more than three Church of England clergymen in the whole Province and some of these were not strict conformists. On the other hand, there were settled Quaker Meetings throughout Anne Arundel, Calvert, Kent and Talbot counties which drew strength from the other counties of Baltimore, Dorchester and Somerset. Beginning in 1672, they were co-ordinated by the Yearly Meetings held alternately between West River on the Western Shore, and Third Haven on the Eastern Shore. Also see *A of M*, V, pp. 130-131 and Babette M. Levy, "Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1960, pp. 209-210.

⁸ Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter, *op. cit.*

⁹ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

¹⁰ Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), p. 39.

¹¹ William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1936-), VI, p. 5.

¹² Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1923), p. 266. Also see James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1850-1854), I, p. 339.

¹³ William Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers* (New York, 1844), I, p. 203.

¹⁴ The name of Anne Arundel County was changed to Providence County and that of Calvert County to Patuxent County by the Puritan government of 1654 to 1658. *A of M*, I, p. 283.

¹⁵ Officially West River Quaker Burial Ground. *Laws of Maryland*, 1888, Chapter 17, "An Act to incorporate the trustees of the West River Quaker Burial Ground," approved February 15, 1888. Also see "Old Quaker Burying Ground, West River, Quaker Burial Ground," by this writer, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LV (December, 1960), pp. 334-345.

¹⁶ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 616.

¹⁷ *The 250th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends 1672-1922* (Westminster, Maryland, 1922). Hereafter referred to as the C. C. L. Book.

¹⁸ Ledger of Samuel Galloway III in the possession of the Estate of Miss Anne Cheston Murray, Ivy Neck, Harwood, Maryland.

- ¹⁹ Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
²⁰ *A of M*, I, p. 244.
²¹ *A of M*, I, p. 283.
²² *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 350, the counties were ranked, St. Mary's 1st, Kent 2nd, Anne Arundel 3rd.
²³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 257.
²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 261. James Cox was transported into the Province late in 1649 by Zeph Smith, *Patents*, Liber Q, f. 408. George Puddington was granted land on the south side of South River, *Ibid.*, ff. 393-395. Right to grant Warrants, *A of M*, III, p. 257. Withdrawn, *A of M*, III, p. 291.
²⁵ John Leeds Bozman, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1837), II, pp. 672, 673.
²⁶ G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England* (New York, 1926), II, pp. 200, 201.
²⁷ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
²⁸ Sheldon Cheney, *Men Who Have Walked With God* (New York, 1945), Chapters VI, p. 176 and VIII, p. 238.
²⁹ Sewel, *op. cit.*, p. 50. Also *Faith and Practice of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting* (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 1.
³⁰ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.
³² *A of M*, III, p. 264.
³³ Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
³⁴ Charter of Maryland, Section XXI.
³⁵ Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.
³⁷ *A of M*, III, p. 275.
³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-313.
³⁹ Bozman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 497.
⁴⁰ *Patents*, Liber Q, f. 386.
⁴¹ *Ibid.*, f. 386.
⁴² *Ibid.*, f. 386.
⁴³ *Certificate*, Liber 6, f. 314, also *Patents*, Liber Q, f. 192.
⁴⁴ Calvert Papers, *op. cit.*, I, Section 5.
⁴⁵ Clayton Colman Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 226. Also see *A of M*, III, pp. 311-313.
⁴⁶ Bozman, *op. cit.*, p. 332.
⁴⁷ Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 529.
⁴⁹ *A of M*, III, pp. 298-300. Also see Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
⁵⁰ Charles Francis Stein, *A History of Calvert County* (Baltimore, 1960), p. 48.
⁵¹ Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
⁵² Bozman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 555.
⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

FRIENDS AMONG THE FIRST SETTLERS

- ¹ Delmar Leon Thornbury, "The Society of Friends in Maryland," *M. H. M.*, XXIX, p. 101.
² Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
³ Letter to George Fox from Gerard Roberts, July, 1657. Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 5.
⁴ Later called "Preston on the Patuxent," now "Charles Gift."
⁵ *A of M*, VII, p. 465.
⁶ *Certificates*, Liber AB & H, f. 286, also *Wills* 5, f. 241.
⁷ Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 203.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204. Nicholas Upsal became a Friend. However, while he may have been impressed with the plight of the two messengers, there is no firm evidence that he was convinced at that time.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 204.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 218. Also see Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 287, 288.

¹⁴ John Cox, Jr., *Quakerism in the City of New York, 1665-1930* (New York, 1930), p. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

¹⁶ *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls.*

¹⁷ Fox's *Journal, op. cit.*, p. 655. Also see *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ John Burnyeat* (London, 1691), pp. 32, 33 (hereafter *Burnyeat's Journal*).

¹⁸ *Certificate* "Tan Yard," 1665, Liber 9, f. 301.

¹⁹ *Wills*, 6, f. 31.

²⁰ Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²¹ *A of M*, III, p. 351.

²² Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter.

²³ Calvert Papers, *op. cit.*, I, Paper 14.

²⁴ Lawrence Buckley Thomas, D.D., *The Thomas Book* (New York, 1906), p. 477.

²⁵ Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 5.

²⁶ Bozman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 552, fn. Also see Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 190, fn.

²⁷ *A of M*, I, p. 369.

²⁸ J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties Maryland* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 31.

²⁹ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), I, pp. 223, 224. The affidavit of three Protestants, Henry Coursey, Nicholas Guyther and Richard Willans, gives a most unbiased account of the episode.

³⁰ Bozman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 688. (Note LXXXVI.)

³¹ West River Quaker Records, Homewood Library, Homewood Meeting House, 3107 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Hereafter referred to as Homewood.

³² *Wills*, I, ff. 246, 247.

³³ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers from 1650-1689* (London, 1753), II, p. 278, "Court at Anne Arundel, October 10th, 1662," Clarkson was fined together with Nicholas Wayatt, John Howard, Will Reed, Jonathan Neale, John Baldwin and John Maccubin."

³⁴ *Certificate*, Liber AB & H, f. 258. The date of a survey does not necessarily indicate the time of arrival of a settler. It does certify that he was in the country at that time.

³⁵ Caleb Dorsey, "Original Land Grants of the South Side of the Severn River," *M. H. M.*, LIII, 4 (December, 1958), pp. 397-400.

³⁶ Maxwell J. Dorsey, Jean Muir Dorsey, Nanie Ball Nimmo, *The Dorsey Family of Maryland*, privately printed, 1947, p. 2. Hereafter referred to as the Dorsey Book.

³⁷ *Wills*, I, ff. 596, 597.

³⁸ *Patents*, Liber 7, f. 378.

³⁹ Dorsey Book, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City. A History of Annapolis in Maryland, 1649-1887* (Annapolis, 1887), pp. 62, 63.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* The exact location of Major Edward Dorsey's house has not been found.

⁴² Harry Wright Newman, *Anne Arundel Gentry* (The Author, 1933), Maryland Pioneer Series, 1933, pp. 20, 21.

⁴³ *Patents*, Liber 7, f. 356.

⁴⁴ *Wills*, 4, f. 43.

⁴⁵ *Wills*, 4, f. 43.

⁴⁶ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 378-380.

⁴⁷ *Wills*, 14, f. 30. Also see *Wills*, 4, f. 43.

⁴⁸ *Patents*, Liber 8, f. 148.

⁴⁹ *Patents*, Liber 11, f. 211.

⁵⁰ *Wills*, 1, ff. 382, 383.

⁵¹ *A of M*, III, p. 257. Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁴ After conviction many of the early Quakers moved away from the Severn, most frequently to southern Anne Arundel County or to Kent or Talbot counties on the Eastern Shore.

⁵⁵ Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *M.H.M.*, XLII, 4 (December, 1952), 4, p. 298, fn. 7.

⁵⁶ Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 358.

⁵⁷ *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls, Broad Neck Hundred.*

⁵⁸ *Wills*, Liber E. M. 1, f. 114.

⁵⁹ *Patents*, Liber Q, f. 237. Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁶⁰ *Patents*, Liber 5, f. 355.

⁶¹ *Wills*, 1, ff. 618, 619.

⁶² *Patents*, Liber 5, f. 293. Also see Liber 17, f. 154.

⁶³ *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls, South River Hundred.*

⁶⁴ Calvert Papers, *op. cit.*, I, p. 14.

⁶⁵ The exact location of "Preston on the Patuxent" has been questioned. The meeting place of the Puritan assemblies was referred to as "Mr. Richard Preston's house." The great hall at "Charles Gift," some 43 feet long, would seem to be the most likely place. Calvert County Land Records were destroyed by fire.

⁶⁶ *A of M*, I, p. 369.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 275, 276.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 277, 278. Because of the speed in which the treaty was concluded it is believed that arrangements for its signing were made before the commission was authorized on June 28, 1652.

⁶⁹ *Patents*, Liber Q, f. 82. He was also granted "Fuller" in 1659, *Patents*, Liber 4, f. 486, and "Broad Creek," *Patents*, Liber 4, f. 497.

⁷⁰ *Wills*, Liber 11, ff. 374, 375.

⁷¹ *Certificate*, Liber AB & H, f. 891.

⁷² Besse, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 378-380. Also see James E. Moss, *The Lost Towne at Severne in Marieland*, Processed, p. 13, H. of R.

⁷³ Testamentary Proceedings 6, f. 148, H. of R. Also see *Anne Arundel County Land Records*, Liber IT No. 5, ff. 1-3.

⁷⁴ Bozman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 370.

⁷⁵ Warfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8.

⁷⁶ Bozman, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 672, 673.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁷⁸ Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter, *op. cit.* Edward Burroughs (1634-1662) was a leading Quaker minister. Died in Newgate gaol.

⁷⁹ *A of M*, I, p. 369.

⁸⁰ *Wills*, 1, ff. 514, 515.

⁸¹ *A of M*, I, p. 369.

⁸² *Wills*, I, ff. 436-438.

⁸³ *Wills*, 1, ff. 514, 515.

⁸⁴ Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter, *op. cit.*

⁸⁵ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 379.

⁸⁶ *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls, Broad Neck Hundred.*

⁸⁷ "Great Bonnerston," adjoining "Watkins Hope," property of William Richardson and only a few miles from Old Quaker Burying Ground, *Patents*, Liber 16, f. 266.

⁸⁸ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

- ⁸⁹ *A Testimony Concerning William Coale* (London, 1682), p. 4. Original in Friends Historical Library, London. Hereafter Testimony to William Coale.
- ⁹⁰ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 379.
- ⁹¹ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 638.
- ⁹² *Wills*, 9, f. 92.
- ⁹³ Testimony to Coale, *op. cit.*
- ⁹⁴ Warfield, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- ⁹⁵ *Certificate*, Liber AB & H, f. 267.
- ⁹⁶ *Patents*, Liber 5, f. 588.
- ⁹⁷ *Patents*, Liber 5, f. 590.
- ⁹⁸ *Patents*, Liber 4, f. 39.
- ⁹⁹ *A of M*, III, p. 351. Burgess later recanted and was pardoned.
- ¹⁰⁰ Testimony to William Coale, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11.
- ¹⁰¹ Riley, *op. cit.*, p. 343.
- ¹⁰² 1702.
- ¹⁰³ *Wills*, 2, f. 143.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰⁵ *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls, Middle Neck Hundred*.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁷ *Wills*, 2, f. 97.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Wills*, 4, f. 128.
- ¹⁰⁹ Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter. *op. cit.*
- ¹¹⁰ *Wills*, 1, ff. 339, 340.
- ¹¹¹ *Pedigrees and Notes* (New York, 1883). Stony Run Friends Library, 5116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland. While the research for this book was done from the original records, microfilm copies are now available at the Hall of Records, Annapolis.
- ¹¹² Warfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7 and 170.
- ¹¹³ Riley, *op. cit.*, p. 343. Also Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 558.
- ¹¹⁴ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 378-381.
- ¹¹⁵ *Pedigrees and Notes*, *op. cit.*
- ¹¹⁶ *Wills*, 1, ff. 494-497.
- ¹¹⁷ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 381. Also Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

TREATMENT OF QUAKER MESSENGERS

- ¹ Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter, *op. cit.*
- ² Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 336.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 336.
- ⁵ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 511.
- ⁷ Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 113.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 117.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 104, 105.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 139.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 142.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, II, p. 162.
- ¹³ J. A. C. Chandler, *Makers of Virginia History* (New York, 1904), pp. 91, 92.
- ¹⁴ *A of M*, III, p. 362. Also see William T. Russell, *Maryland—The Land of Sanctuary*, (Baltimore, 1907), p. 258, and Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 139.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 139.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 139.
- ¹⁷ Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1915), I, p. 105. However, a single or isolated instance of bodily harm may yet come to light.

- ¹⁸ *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls.*
- ¹⁹ *Wills*, 6, f. 31.
- ²⁰ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 286. Also see *Wills*, 6, f. 31.
- ²¹ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 379. Also see Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 13. (The reference to Thomas Marsh has not been verified.)
- ²² Burnyeat's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- ²³ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 655.
- ²⁴ *Wills*, 6, f. 31.
- ²⁵ *A of M*, XLI, pp. 456, 457.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 521.
- ²⁷ Samuel Greene Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation* (New York and London, 1859), II, p. 495, fn.
- ²⁸ Josiah Coale, *The Books and Divers Epistles of that Faithful Servant of God*, (London, 1671).
- ²⁹ Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 336.
- ³⁰ *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls, South River Hundred.*
- ³¹ Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 299.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 301. He also referred to Meetings elsewhere.
- ³³ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
- ³⁴ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 511.
- ³⁵ Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 301.
- ³⁶ Homewood, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷ Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, p. 108.
- ³⁸ Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
- ³⁹ Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, p. 367. Also see Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
- ⁴⁰ Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 287, 288.
- ⁴¹ Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
- ⁴² Burnyeat's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- ⁴³ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 511.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 581.
- ⁴⁵ Burnyeat's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Also see Bliss Forbush, *John Burnyeat of Crabtreebeck* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 12, 13.
- ⁴⁶ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 616.

EARLY QUAKER LANDHOLDERS AND THEIR TESTIMONIES TO WILLIAM COALE

- ¹ *Wills*, 7, f. 388.
- ² Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 638.
- ³ *Wills*, 9, f. 92.
- ⁴ Testimony to William Coale, *op. cit.*,
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- ⁶ George McLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church*, p. 193. See also Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
- ⁷ Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- ⁸ Testimony to William Coale. *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.
- ⁹ *Patents*, Liber 12, f. 297.
- ¹⁰ On State Route 2, two miles below South River, "Etowah Farm" is now a part of "Taylor's Choice," but the exact site of Thomas Taylor's house has not been found. Also see *A of M*, V, pp. 74, 380.
- ¹¹ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 422.
- ¹² Enoch Lewis, *Life of William Penn*, Friends Library (Philadelphia, 1841), V, p. 171.
- ¹³ J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends in Maryland*, Maryland Historical Society, 1862, p. 27.

- ¹⁴ Ida Morrison (Murphy) Shirk, *The Talbott Family of West River, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1927).
- ¹⁵ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 477.
- ¹⁶ *A of M*, VII, p. 477.
- ¹⁷ Now called "Larkins Hills," on State Route 2, opposite "Etowah Farm."
- ¹⁸ *A of M*, VII, p. 469.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 469.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 515.
- ²¹ *Wills*, 7, f. 388.
- ²² Friends Historical Library, London.
- ²³ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 650.
- ²⁴ *Wills*, 2, f. 156.
- ²⁵ *Wills*, 1, ff. 494-497.
- ²⁶ Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 409-414.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 410.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 410.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 414.
- ³⁰ George Bishop, *New England Judged* (London, 1661), II, p. 440.
- ³¹ Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- ³² Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 344.
- ³³ Tilghman, *op. cit.*, I, p. 122.
- ³⁴ *Wills*, 1, ff. 494-497. The island referred to is now known as Sharpe's.
- ³⁵ *A. A. Co., L. R.*, Liber 20, f. 373.
- ³⁶ *Patents*, Liber 10, f. 53. Also see Liber 12, f. 570.
- ³⁷ Friends Historical Library, London.
- ³⁸ *Wills*, 1, f. 128.
- ³⁹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
- ⁴⁰ *Wills*, 11, f. 201.
- ⁴¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 256.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- ⁴⁴ Early Settlers Book, L. O.
- ⁴⁵ *Patents*, Liber 5, f. 51.
- ⁴⁶ *Wills*, 11, f. 32.
- ⁴⁷ Sewel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 118.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 211.
- ⁴⁹ *Certificate*, Liber 6, f. 91.
- ⁵⁰ *Certificate*, Liber 10, f. 142.
- ⁵¹ Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 638.
- ⁵² *Wills*, 1, f. 161. H. of R.
- ⁵³ *Patents*, Liber 4, f. 204.
- ⁵⁴ Stony Run, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁵ Galloway Genealogy Records, Maryland Historical Society.
- ⁵⁶ *Wills*, 1, f. 209. H. of R.
- ⁵⁷ Stony Run, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁸ *Patents*, Liber 4, f. 204.
- ⁵⁹ *Certificate*, Liber 5, f. 623.
- ⁶⁰ Rev. Edward D. Neill, *Founders of Maryland* (Albany, 1876), p. 146. Also see Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381.
- ⁶¹ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber 19, f. 313.
- ⁶² *Patents*, Liber IB & IH #c, ff. 234, 235.
- ⁶³ John Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant* (Baltimore, 1808).
- ⁶⁴ *Patents*, Liber WH, 4, f. 16.
- ⁶⁵ Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 306.
- ⁶⁶ Homewood, *op. cit.*
- ⁶⁷ Galloway Genealogy Records, *op. cit.*
- ⁶⁸ Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

- 69 Homewood, *op. cit.*
 70 *Wills*, 18, f. 158.
 71 *Ibid.*, 16, f. 393.
 72 *Ibid.*
 73 *Wills*, 18, f. 74.
 74 *Ibid.*, 18, f. 168.
 75 *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber BB 1, ff. 149-151.
 76 *Wills*, 1, f. 180.
 77 Stony Run, *op. cit.*
 78 Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 477. Also see George Norbury MacKenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States* (Baltimore, 1912), p. 554.
 79 Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 341.
 80 *Ibid.*
 81 Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 255.
 82 Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 312.
 83 Maryland Historical Society.
 84 Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
 85 *Certificate*, Liber 2, f. 29, *Patent*, Liber Q, f. 99.
 86 *Wills*, 5, f. 241.
 87 Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
 88 Now in possession of this writer.
 89 Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 27. See *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber W. T. #1, p. 68—"For 12 pence and other Goods and Consideration."
 90 *Wills*, Box N, f. 1.
 91 Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore, 1956).
 92 Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *The First Americans* (New York, 1927), p. 123.
 93 Testimony to William Coale, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12.
 94 *Wills*, 4, f. 28.
 95 Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 616.
 96 Inquiry to the Connecticut Historical Society failed to establish a relationship.
 97 Testimony to William Coale, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.
 98 Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 635.
 99 *Wills*, 4, f. 100.
 100 Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 534.
 101 Third Haven Minutes, V, p. 315.
 102 S. A. Harrison, *Wenlock Christison, and the Early Friends in Talbot County, Maryland*, Fund Publication 12, Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore, 1878), p. 15.
 103 A part of "Taylor's Choice," is now known as "Etowah Farm."
 104 *A of M*, Vol. 5, p. 355.
 105 *A of M*, III, p. 352. Also see Shirk, *op. cit.*, p. 15, fn.
 106 Testimony to William Coale, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
 107 *Wills*, 1, ff. 143, 144.
 108 Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 306, fn.
 109 *A of M*, XV.
 110 Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
 111 *Ibid.*, p. 255.
 112 *Certificate*, AB & H, f. 260.
 113 *Wills*, 10, f. 82.
 114 *Wills*, 1, ff. 494-497.
 115 Homewood, *op. cit.*
 116 Charles H. Browning, *The Welsh Quaker Emigration to Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1914). Also see, *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* (London, November, 1909).
 117 Stony Run, *op. cit.*
 118 *Wills*, 14, f. 707.
 119 Besse, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 378-380.
 120 *Patents*, Liber 4, f. 97.

- 121 *Original Wills*, Box S, folder 74.
 122 Johns Family Genealogy, Maryland Historical Society.
 123 Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
 124 *Ibid.*, p. 33, fn.
 125 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
 126 *Wills*, 6 & 13 (rear).
 127 *Wills*, 2, f. 350.
 128 Anna Lloyd (Braithwaite) Thomas, *The Story of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting from 1672 to 1938* (Baltimore).
 129 *Wills*, 14, f. 62.
 130 *Wills*, 9, f. 92.
 131 Testimony to Coale, p. 16.

GEORGE FOX ATTENDS FIRST GENERAL MEETING

- 1 Sewel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 140.
 2 Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 289, 290.
 3 *Ibid.*, p. 511.
 4 *Ibid.*, p. 590.
 5 *Ibid.*, p. 612.
 6 *Ibid.*, p. 616.
 7 Burnyeat's *Journal*, *op. cit.*
 8 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 393, fn. Also see Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
 9 Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
 10 *Ibid.*, p. 616.
 11 *Ibid.*, p. 617.
 12 *Ibid.*, p. 617.
 13 *Ibid.*, p. 617.
 14 *Ibid.*, p. 634.
 15 *Ibid.*, p. 635.
 16 *Ibid.*, p. 638.
 17 *Ibid.*, p. 638.
 18 *Ibid.*, p. 638.
 19 *Ibid.*, p. 638.
 20 *Patents*, "Birkhead's Parcell," Liber 6, f. 91—"Quick Sale," Liber 7, f. 393—"Birkhead's Mill," Liber CB 3, f. 308—"Birkhead's Adventure," Liber 20, f. 246, "Birkhead's Right," Liber N. S. 2, f. 99—"Birkhead's Chance," Liber 10, f. 142.
 21 Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 639-648.
 22 *Ibid.*, p. 649.
 23 *Ibid.*, p. 655.
 24 *Ibid.*, p. 655, fn.
 25 *Ibid.*, p. 655. This is further substantiated by the fact that George Fox thought Samuel Chew to be Speaker of the Assembly.
 26 Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 17. James Backhouse, *The Life and Correspondence of William and Alice Ellis of Airton* (London, 1849), pp. 231, 232. Letter from Richard Johns to William Ellis dated, Maryland, 12th of 6th mo. 1706. See also *Patents*, Liber AB & H, f. 151, "School House."
 27 There is some uncertainty as to the location of James Preston's house. It is said to have been on the Patuxent between St. Leonards and Mears Creeks. However, in 1672-73 the home plantation of Richard Preston, his late father, between Mears and Helens Creeks, was also James Preston's. As the Land Records of Calvert County were burned it is almost impossible to answer this interesting question. The Patuxent Meeting House was near James Preston's.
 28 Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 656.
 29 *Ibid.*, p. 656.

- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 656.
³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 656, fn.
³² Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 270.
³³ Fox's *Journal, op. cit.*, p. 657.
³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 665.
³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 671.
³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 760. See letters from William Richardson and George Skipwith to George Fox previously quoted.

THE WEST RIVER MEETING

- ¹ James E. Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
² Spelled many different ways in the early records.
³ Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 308.
⁴ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber I. H. #1, f. 594.
⁵ C. C. L. Book, *op. cit.*
⁶ Mercer Collection, H. of R., an undated letter written during the Civil War, "the soldiers left their horses at the Quaker Meeting House."
⁷ West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Homewood.
⁸ *Ibid.*
⁹ Tilghman, *op. cit.*, p. 521; also Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
¹⁰ Third Haven Minutes, 1, pp. 41-43. H. of R.
¹¹ *Wills*, 2, f. 2.
¹² Third Haven Minutes, 1, f. 9. H. of R.
¹³ *Patents*, Liber 10, f. 568.
¹⁴ *Wills*, 2, f. 225. H. of R.
¹⁵ *A of M*, LIV, p. 25.
¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
¹⁷ *Wills*, 1, f. 573. H. of R.
¹⁸ *Wills*, 4, f. 34. H. of R.
¹⁹ West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Homewood.
²⁰ J. Reaney Kelly, "Cedar Park," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LVIII (March, 1963), p. 34.
²¹ Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 286.
²² West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Homewood.
²³ Backhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
²⁴ *Wills*, 16, f. 185.
²⁵ West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Stony Run; also H. of R.
²⁶ *Ibid.*
²⁷ Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 370.
²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 370.
²⁹ *Wills*, 1, f. 262. H. of R.
³⁰ *Wills*, 16, f. 388.
³¹ *Wills*, 6, f. 237.
³² *Wills*, 14, f. 317.
³³ Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-288.
³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-288.
³⁵ William Evans and Thomas Evans (Editors), *The Friends Library* (Philadelphia, 1841), V, p. 126.
³⁶ Marriages, Stony Run; also H. of R.
³⁷ *Ibid.*
³⁸ *Ibid.*
³⁹ Third Haven Minutes, V 2, p. 225. H. of R.
⁴⁰ Marriage Record, Stony Run; also H. of R.
⁴¹ Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
⁴² Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 523.

- 43 Marriage Records, Stony Run; also H. of R.
 44 *A of M*, XXV, p. 595.
 45 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
 46 *Ibid.*, p. 291.
 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 353-355.
 48 *Maryland Gazette*, April 5, 1781.
 49 West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Homewood.
 50 C. C. L. Book, Homewood.
 51 Baltimore Meeting Records, Homewood.

THE HERRING CREEK MEETING

- 1 West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Homewood.
 2 Bowden, *op. cit.*, pp. 347, 362.
 3 This custom began in Maryland (Anne Arundel County) in 1656.
 4 Fox's *Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 628.
 5 *Ibid.*, p. 655; also see *Patents*, Liber AB & H, f. 151, "School House."
 6 Backhouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-233.
 7 *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber WT #1, f. 68.
 8 *Patents*, Liber 8, f. 407.
 9 This date is evidently in error. See *Patents*, Liber 7, f. 635, to Samuel Chew, June 20, 1665.
 10 *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber WT #1, f. 68.
 11 *Ibid.*, f. 68.
 12 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
 13 *Ibid.*, p. 269.
 14 G. Rodney Crowther III, "Harrison Family of Anne Arundel County, Maryland," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 50, #1 (March, 1962), p. 31.
 15 *Patents*, Liber 15, f. 603, and Liber C. B. #3, f. 283.
 16 *Wills*, 6, ff. 365-368 and 393-395.
 17 Sewel, *op. cit.*, p. 118; also see *Patents*, Liber 6, f. 91.
 18 *Wills*, 6, f. 22.
 19 *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber W. H. #4, f. 82.
 20 *Wills*, 14, f. 317.
 21 *Patents*, Liber 8, f. 407.
 22 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 595.
 23 Samuel Thomas was the son of Philip and Sarah Harrison Thomas and was born in 1655. He was a prominent Quaker Minister. Mary, his wife, was a daughter of Francis Hutchens of Calvert County.
 24 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 596.
 25 Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 382.
 26 West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Homewood.
 27 *Ibid.*; also Marriages, Stony Run.
 28 West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Homewood.
 29 *Wills*, Liber 16, f. 393.
 30 *Patents*, Liber Q, f. 393; also see *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls, South River Hundred*.
 31 Marriages, Stony Run.
 32 West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Stony Run
 33 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.
 34 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 34; also West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Stony Run.
 35 Record of a Meeting for Ministers and Elders held at Herring Creek, November 22, 1756, Stony Run; also Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
 36 Marriages, Stony Run; also Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
 37 *A of M*, IX, pp. 181-450, and X, pp. 233-426.

- 38 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
 39 *Ibid.*, p. 36; also West River Register, f. 45, Stony Run.
 40 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
 41 West River and Herring Creek Minutes, Homewood.
 42 *Ibid.*
 43 *Ibid.*
 44 Map Division, Library of Congress.
 45 *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber N. H. #2, f. 337.
 46 *A Journal of the Life and Gospel Labors of that Devoted Servant and Minister of Christ, Joseph Hoag* (Sherwood, New York, 1860), pp. 188-189.
 47 *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber W. S. G. #8, f. 606.
 48 *Ibid.*, Liber W. S. G. #16, f. 59.
 49 On loan to the Hall of Records.
 50 Sellman Diary—see entries dated Sundays July 29 and August 12, 1838, H. of R.

THE INDIAN SPRING MEETING

- 1 Cora DuLaney, *Andersons from the Great Fork of the Patuxant*, p. 8. Privately printed, 1948.
 2 *Anne Arundel County Rent Rolls*, Book 14, f. 216.
 3 *Patents*, Liber Y & S #8, f. 465.
 4 *Anne Arundel County Land Records*, Liber JG #2, ff. 591-594.
 5 *Ibid.*
 6 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 517.
 7 Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 489.
 8 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 516.
 9 *Ibid.*, p. 219.
 10 J. Reaney Kelly, "Old Quaker Burying Ground," *M. H. M.* (December, 1960), Vol. 55, #4, p. 341.
 11 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 517.
 12 *Ibid.*, p. 291.
 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.
 14 Obituary of John Chew Thomas, *The Friend*, 5th Mo. 28th day, 1836, Philadelphia, Pa., Vol. IV, p. 272.
 15 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41. Also Benjamin Seebohm, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet* (London, 1860), Vol. 1, p. 145.
 17 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41.
 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.
 19 From a copy furnished by Mrs. E. Waldo (Elizabeth Leiper) Jones.
 20 Because of the use of chemicals by the Army, near the spring, there is a sign that the water may be contaminated.

ELIZABETH HARRIS

- 1 Boyd's Marriage Index, Society of Genealogists—London.
 2 Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter, *op. cit.* (forepart). For further information about Elizabeth Cowart see William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginning of Quakerism*, Second Edition, revised by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, 1955).
 3 Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 266, Original, Crossfield MSS. 1660, Friends Historical Library, London.
 4 *Patents*, Liber 11, f. 211.
 5 *Patents*, Liber 8, f. 148.

- ⁶ Dorsey, *op. cit.* The convincement of John Baldwin is referred to in the Hart-Clarkson-Harris letter of 1657.
- ⁷ *Wills*, 1, ff. 382, 383.
- ⁸ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 378-380.
- ⁹ *Wills*, 1, ff. 246, 247.
- ¹⁰ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 378-380.
- ¹¹ Pedigrees and Notes, *op. cit.*
- ¹² Roberts, Fox letter, *op. cit.*
- ¹³ *Patents*, Liber 10, f. 106.
- ¹⁴ Pedigrees and Notes, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 381.
- ¹⁶ *A of M*, III, p. 351.
- ¹⁷ *Wills*, 1, f. 357. H. of R.
- ¹⁸ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 533.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 537.
- ²⁰ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber I. H., 1, f. 191.
- ²¹ *Patents*, Liber Q, f. 237.
- ²² *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber I. H., 1, f. 191.
- ²³ Edwin P. Tanner, *Province of New Jersey*, p. 686, New Jersey Archives, II, p. 46. Also see Minutes of the Proprietors of West New Jersey (Burlington, N. J.) bk. III, pp. 110-111.
- ²⁴ Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
- ²⁵ *Wills*, 11, f. 462.
- ²⁶ Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

THE DECLINE OF QUAKERISM

- ¹ *A of M*, VIII, p. 94.
- ² Rightmyer, *op. cit.*, p. 33. Also see Thomas Bray, Book I, State Library Annapolis.
- ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- ⁵ *A of M*, XXV, pp. 81, 82.
- ⁶ Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, etc. Also see Backhouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 125; Letter from Abraham Johns to William Ellis, 11th month, 1699.
- ⁷ Rightmyer, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- ⁸ Thomas John Hall III, *History of Saint James Parish*, reprinted with additions, 1954, p. 5.
- ⁹ Backhouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-68; 124-129; 207, 208; 231, 232.
- ¹⁰ *A of M*, XX, pp. 106-111. (This may have meant that no churches had been built from public funds.)
- ¹¹ Rightmyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35. Also see Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 27, and Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1903), p. 222.
- ¹² *Faith and Practice of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1955), p. 24.
- ¹³ Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York and London, 1901), p. 434.
- ¹⁴ *A of M*, Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly 1637/38 to 1664, p. 370.
- ¹⁵ *Faith and Practice*, p. 82.
- ¹⁶ Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 167.
- ¹⁷ Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ¹⁹ Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *M. H. M.*, XLV, 3, p. 220.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 223.
- ²¹ Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 323, fn. 35.

- ²² Homewood, *op. cit.*
²³ Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Also see letter from Dr. Grace L. Tracey to this writer, Feb. 18, 1961.
²⁴ Records of the Nottingham Quaker Meeting, Friends Library, Swarthmore, Pa.
²⁵ *Friends Library, op. cit.*, III, p. 50.
²⁶ Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 271.
²⁷ *Friends Library, op. cit.*, V, p. 426.
²⁸ C. C. L. Book, *op. cit.*
²⁹ *Friends Library, op. cit.*, XIII, p. 295.
³⁰ Joseph Hoag, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 189.
³¹ *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, VI, p. 63.
³² *History of the West River Circuit 1836-1942* (July 26, 1942).
³³ C. C. L. Book, *op. cit.*
³⁴ Tercentenary Celebration, Galesville, Maryland, 1652-1952, Annapolis and Anne Arundel County Library, Annapolis, Maryland.
³⁵ *The Evening Capital* (Annapolis newspaper), August 18, 1952.

CEDAR PARK

- ¹ *Certificate*, Liber W. T. #4, ff. 46, 47.
² *Certificates*, Liber 9, f. 89. Also Liber 10, f. 378.
³ *Patents*, Liber 12, f. 78.
⁴ Caspar Morris, *Memoir of Miss Margaret Mercer* (Philadelphia, 1848), pp. 101-125.
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33. Also see *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, June 4, 1818, p. 2.
⁶ Newspaper clipping in possession of E. Churchill Murray.

LARKINS HILLS

- ¹ *A of M*, 7, p. 447.
² *Ibid.*, 8, p. 338.
³ *Ibid.*, XX, p. 48.
⁴ *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 160, 161.
⁵ *Certificates*, Liber 5, f. 101.
⁶ *Patents*, Liber 5, f. 159.
⁷ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 378-380.
⁸ *Third Haven Monthly Meeting Minutes I*, p. 150, Maryland Historical Society.

WHITES HALL

- ¹ *Patents*, Liber 7, f. 587.
² *Ibid.*
³ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber C W. 1, ff. 42-46.
⁴ *Wills*, 23, ff. 302-305.
⁵ *Wills*, T. G. 1, ff. 194, 195.
⁶ Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 357, 358.
⁷ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber I. B., No. 5, ff. 537-39.

TULIP HILL

- ¹ Ledger of Samuel Galloway III owned by the estate of the late Anne Cheston Murray.
² *Certificates*, Liber AB & H, f. 292.
³ *Patents*, Liber 4, f. 102.
⁴ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber BB #1, f. 149.

- ⁵ *Wills*, Liber 4, f. 28.
⁶ In possession of the owners.
⁷ *Maryland Gazette*, June 4, 1818, p. 2.
⁸ Mercer Collection, H. of R. See letter telling of the death of Maxcy Galloway Hughes.
⁹ *Ibid.* Letter from Mrs. Mercer of Cedar Park about the episode.
¹⁰ Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Vol. 34, item 14665.
¹¹ *Ibid.* Ledger of John Galloway 1800-1812, f. 92.
¹² A Lady of Maryland, *Extracts in prose and verse*, Vol. II, pp. 166, 167, printed in Annapolis in 1808 by Frederick Green.
¹³ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber S. H. #12, f. 144, Clerk's Office, Circuit Court, Annapolis.
¹⁴ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber G. W. #48, f. 123, Clerk's Office, Circuit Court, Annapolis.

HOLLY HILL

- ¹ *Certificates*, Liber 5, f. 617.
² *Patents*, Liber 7, f. 164.
³ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber WH 4, f. 82.
⁴ *Patents*, Liber P.L. 3, f. 420.
⁵ Crowther, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.
⁷ Records of the West River Quaker Meeting, Stony Run Friends Library, 5116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
⁸ Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 523.
⁹ Crowther, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.
¹¹ Early Certificates of Transfer to Philadelphia, Swarthmore Library.
¹² *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber W. T. #1, f. 68.
¹³ Crowther, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
¹⁴ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 278.
¹⁵ *Journal of Esther Palmer*, *op. cit.*
¹⁶ *Minutes of the Third Haven Meeting*, 11, p. 220, Maryland Historical Society.
¹⁷ *Original Wills*, Box H, Folder 141.

SUDLEY

- ¹ Founder of the family in Maryland.
² Henry Chandlee Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland*. Privately printed 1936.
³ So called by the late Thomas T. Waterman.
⁴ As told to the writer by the late Morris Smith of Galesville, who did the work.
⁵ Letter from Mrs. Cornelia Johns Grice, dated June 16, 1931, in possession of this writer.
⁶ Johns Papers, Genealogical Records. H. of R.
⁷ A copy in this writer's possession.
⁸ Joseph Packard, *Recollections of a Long Life* (Washington, D. C.), 1902, p. 193.
⁹ *Patents*, Liber 4, f. 288.
¹⁰ *Testamentary Proceedings*, Liber 14^A, ff. 7-12. H. of R.
¹¹ *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber G, f. 353.
¹² *Ibid.*
¹³ *Ibid.*
¹⁴ Early Settlers Book. L. O.
¹⁵ *Patents*, Liber 11, f. 332.
¹⁶ Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 382.
¹⁷ Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

- 18 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
 19 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
 20 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
 21 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
 22 *Wills*, Liber 2, f. 22. H. of R.
 23 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
 24 Thomas John Hall III, *The Hall Family of West River and Kindred Families*, (Denton, Md.), 1941, p. 225. Also Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 501.
 25 Besse, *op. cit.*, II, p. 382.
 26 *Wills*, Liber 4, f. 124.
 27 *Inventories*, Liber 4, f. 288, H. of R. Also see Liber 19, f. 399.
 28 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
 29 *Ibid.*, p. 224.
 30 *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber IC #L, f. 503.
 31 *Inventories*, Liber 10^A, f. 30, H. of R.
 32 Marriages & Births, West River Meeting, Stony Run.
 33 Backhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 164, also pp. 231, 232.
 34 *Patents*, Liber 9, f. 152 and Liber 10, f. 131.
 35 *Ibid.*, Liber 10, f. 151.
 36 *Ibid.*, Liber 4, f. 517.
 37 *Patents*, Liber IC #L, f. 503.
 38 *Provincial Court Record*, Liber 21, ff. 112-137.
 39 *Wills*, 16, f. 393.
 40 *Wills*, Liber 27, f. 13.
 41 Petition of Mary (Paca) Galloway. Plat Book #31, L. O. Also see Johns Papers, Marriage Records.
 42 Johns Papers, Births.
 43 *A. A. Co. L. R.*, Liber R. C. W. #2, ff. 198, 199.
 44 *Original Wills*, Box G, folder 11.
 45 *Original Wills*, Box G, folder 13.
 46 *Inventories*, Liber 17, ff. 437-440, H. of R.
 47 *Original Wills*, Box G, folder 13.
 48 Lawrence Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
 49 Johns Papers, Marriages.
 50 *Ibid.*, Genealogical Account.
 51 *Ibid.*
 52 Crowther, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-36.
 53 Minutes of the Herring Creek Meeting, Stony Run.
 54 Ledger of Kensey Johns, H. of R. Ledger of Samuel Galloway III in possession of the estate of the late Miss Anne Cheston Murray, Ivy Neck, Harwood, Md.
 55 Packard, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
 56 Galloway, Maxcy, Markoe Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Item 8384.
 57 Johns Papers. Genealogical Account.
 58 *Testamentary Papers*, Box 66, f. 40, H. of R.
 59 *Provincial Court Deeds*, Liber TBH #1, f. 60.
 60 *Patents*, Liber IC #L, f. 503. Also see Agreement Liber NH #9, f. 105.
 61 Crowther, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Also see *Vestry Proceedings* (St. James), Vol. 2, sec. 381, pp. 541, 542.
 62 Diary of John Sellman (of Meadowbrook), H. of R.
 63 *A. A. Co. Wills*, Liber J. G., f. 113.
 64 Johns Papers, also see Crowther, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
 65 Packard, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
 66 *Testamentary Papers*, Box 66, f. 40, H. of R.

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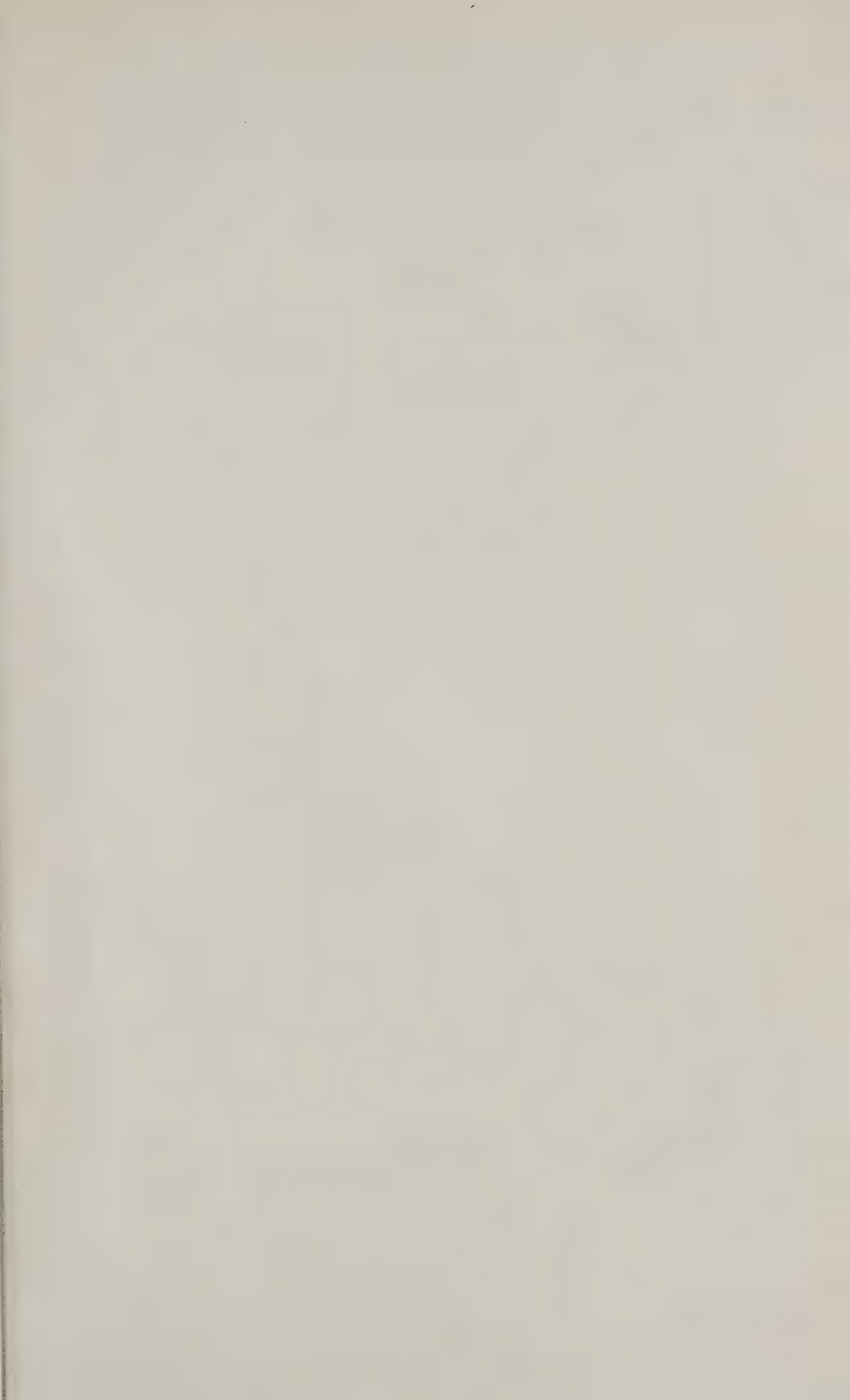
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TRAVELS OF GEORGE FOX

and

sites of meetings, general locations of Friends' homes, and other places with Quaker association in early Anne Arundel County

BROAD NECK HUNDRED

MIDDLE NECK HUNDRED

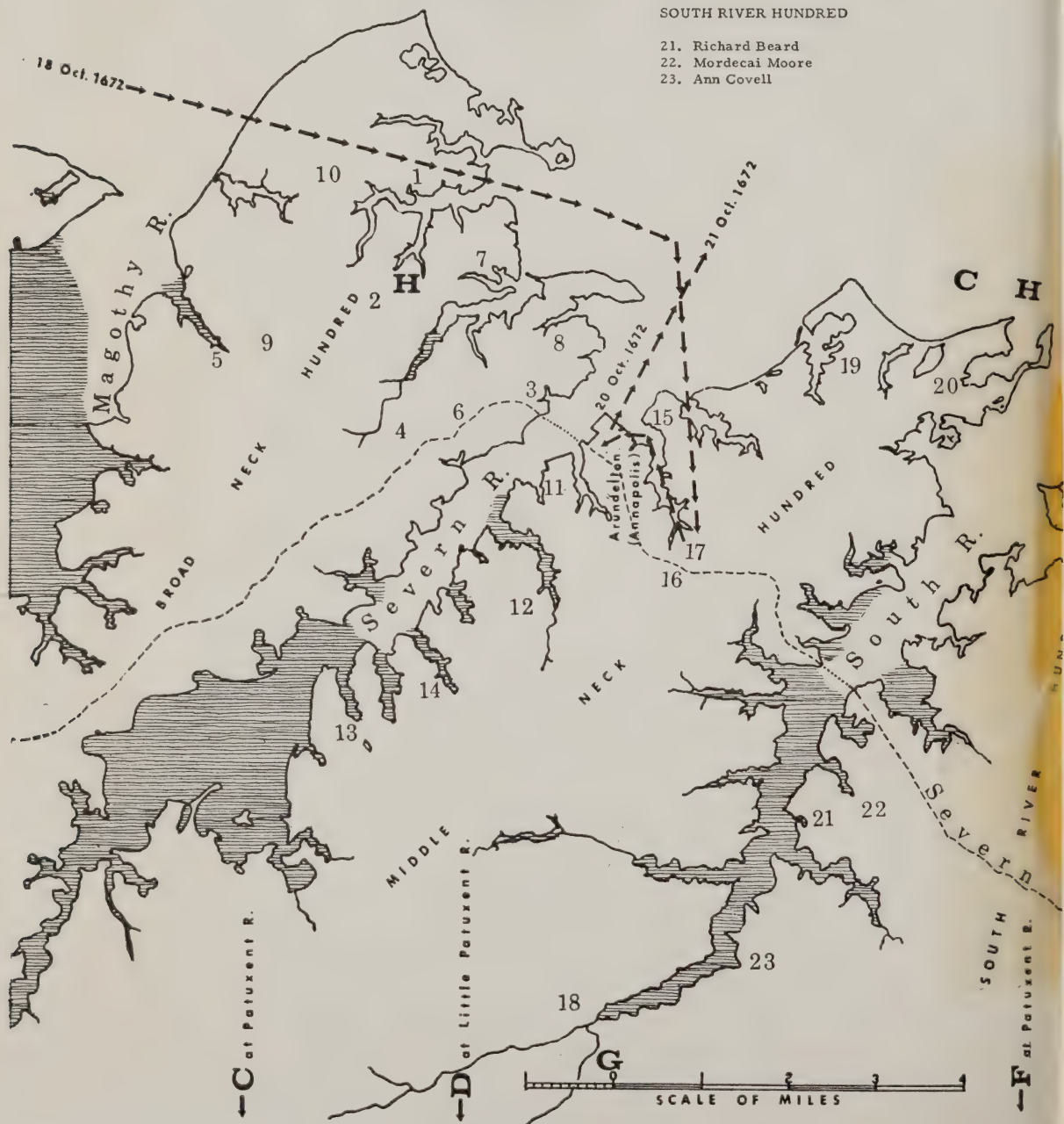
- A. West River Meeting House (Old Quaker Burying Ground)
- B. Herring Creek Meeting House
- C. Indian Spring Meeting House
- D. Birthplace, Johns Hopkins, II
- E. Lord Baltimore and William Penn 1682
- F. Meetings at John Belt's before 1697
- G. Meetings at Anne Lumbolt's before 1697
- H. Meeting at John Homewood's in 1664

- 1. Capt. William Fuller
- 2. William Durand
- 3. Thomas Marsh
- 4. Thomas Mears
- 5. Matthew Hawkins
- 6. Henry Catlyn
- 7. Leonard Strong
- 8. Henry Woolchurch
- 9. John Hammond
- 10. Thomas Hammond
- 11. Thomas Thurston

- 11. Edward Dorsey
- 12. James Warner
- 13. Nicholas Wyatt
- 14. John Howard
- 15. Robert Clarkson
- 16. John Baldwin
- 17. William & Elizabeth Harris
- 18. Henry Pierpont
- 19. Thomas Tolley
- 20. Philip Thomas

SOUTH RIVER HUNDRED

- 21. Richard Beard
- 22. Mordecai Moore
- 23. Ann Covell





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